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ALBANIA

Comment: Ex-Communists 'in Cahoots' With Belgrade *[RILINDJA 31 Oct]* 1
Court Postpones Decision on Antigenocide Law *[KOHA JONE 31 Oct]* 1
  Former Communists 'Scared' *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 1 Nov]* 2

BULGARIA

Westinghouse Offers Plan To Update Kozloduy Units *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Turkish Consulate Invites TDP to Reception *[24 CHASA 1 Nov]* 4
Zhelev Urges Citizens To Vote for Sofiyanski *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Zhelev 'Concerned' by 'Attempts at Censorship' *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Yablenski Elected Mayor of Stara Zagora *[Sofia Radio]* 5

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel on Ties to Germany, Bosnia Peacekeeping *[Prague Radio]* 6
Commentary Views Demarches Issued to Bratislava *[LIDOVE NOVINY 30 Oct]* 6
Zeman on Postelection Governing Strategy *[TYDEN 7 Aug]* 8
Budget Surplus of Kc12.3 Billion at End Oct *[Prague Radio]* 11
Industry Minister Interviewed on Bankruptcies *[Paris LES ECHOS 16 Oct]* 11
Researcher: Czech Family Not in Crisis *[RESPEKT 6 Aug]* 12

SLOVAKIA

Meciar Expresses Shock, Sadness at Rabin's Death *[Bratislava Radio]* 14
  Leads Funeral Delegation *[Bratislava Radio]* 14
Meciar Refutes Kovac's Charges, Views Policies *[Bratislava Radio]* 14
  Views Russian, Turkmenistan Trips *[Bratislava TV]* 17
  Comments on EU, Russia, NATO *[Bratislava TV]* 18
Government Officials on EU, U.S. Demarches 18
  Deputy Prime Minister Kalman *[PRAVDA 2 Nov]* 18
  Foreign Minister Schenk *[SME 31 Oct]* 18
Press Commentaries Evaluate, Criticize Demarches *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 30 Oct]* 19
  'Intimidation' From Abroad *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 31 Oct]* 19
  Impact on Foreign Policy Viewed *[SME 31 Oct]* 20
Foreign Affairs Spokesman on Ties to Russia *[PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 20
Further Developments in Kovac Kidnapping Case 21
  Victim Denies Staging Kidnapping *[SME 27 Oct]* 21
  SIS Allegedly Met Witness *[SME 2 Nov]* 23
  Investigator on Libel Charges *[PRAVDA 28 Oct]* 23
Parties Discuss Kovac's 2 Nov Statement *[Bratislava Radio]* 23
Full Membership in Liberal International for MPP *[Budapest Radio]* 24

HUNGARY

Kovacs on Continuity of Israeli-Hungarian Ties *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Horn Hopes for Continuation of Peace Process *[Budapest TV]* 25

Officials Discuss Romanian Reconciliation Offer *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Horn: Trade Unions' Demands 'Unrealistic' *[Budapest Radio]* 26
GKI, Postabank Present Economic Prognosis *[NEPSZABADSAG 2 Nov]* 26

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Daily Assesses State Delegation to Dayton Talks *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) 31 Oct]* 27
Sacirbegovic Comments on Ohio Talks, U.S. Role *[Madrid ABC 3 Nov]* 27
Mostar Shows Potential Problems for Peace Deal *[AFP]* 28
Ganic Explains NATO Role If Agreement Signed *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Annan: 'No Role' for UN Once NATO in Place *[AFP]* 30
Religious Leaders Protest Rights 'Violation' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Karadzic Comments on Dayton Talks, Srebrenica *[SRNA]* 31
    Receives Messages of Support *[SRNA]* 31
Kasagic Defiant About U.S. Demand To Oust Leaders *[AFP]* 32
    Assails U.S. 'Intentions' *[SRNA]* 32
Milosevic Said To Blame Pale for Continuing War *[NIN 27 Oct]* 33
Reports on Replacement of Karadzic, Mladic Denied *[SRNA]* 34
Serb Army Communique Reveals Rift With Police *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
ULRS Holds First Assembly, Elects Chairman *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
'International Community' Blamed for Srebrenica *[AFP]* 35
UN Pledges Action To Free U.S. Reporter *[AFP]* 35
Official Views Recent Prisoner Exchanges *[DNEVNI AVAZ 21 Oct]* 36
480 Muslims Reportedly in 'Concentration Camp' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 37
National Bank Official Reviews Status of Dinar *[VECERNJE NOVINE 30 Oct]* 37

CROATIA

Deadlock Prevails at Erdut Talks on E. Slavonia *[AFP]* 38
    Serbs Reject Draft Agreement *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
E. Slavonia: Serbs Report Croatian Infantry Fire *[SRNA]* 38
Army Chief Threatens To Untie E. Slavonia 'Knot' *[Zagreb TV]* 39
Tudjman To Return to Dayton 'in a Few Days' *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Mostar Mayor Criticizes EU Official for 'Haste' *[Berlin DIE WELT 4-5 Nov]* 39
UN: Abandoned Serbs Could Die This Winter *[AFP]* 40
Bosnian Croats Said To Fear for Their Rights *[HRVATSKI OBZOR 31 Oct]* 40
President Tudjman's 4 Nov News Conference *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
Tudjman Expresses Thanks to Outgoing Government *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Deputy Voting in 16 Electoral Wards Repeated *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Opposition Parties Form 'New Assembly' Grouping *[Zagreb TV]* 47
HDZ Seen Politicizing Army, Church, Police *[GLOBUS 3 Nov]* 48

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Gligorov Expected To Resume Work in Nov *[AFP]* 51
Local Multigroup Office Denies Link to Bombing *[MIC]* 51
Commentary Views Tetovo Students' Expectations *[PULS 27 Oct]* 52
    Rector's House Demolished *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 52
Joint PDP-NDP Parliamentary Group Formed *[SRNA]* 52

POLAND

Walesa Sends Condolences to Israeli President *[PAP]* 53
    Oleksy To Represent Poland at Funeral *[Warsaw Radio]* 53
Roundup of Warsaw Press on Election Results *[Editorial Report]* 53

Kwasniewski Wins Elections in 15 Provinces *[Warsaw Radio]* 54
Walesa Comments on Election Results *[Warsaw TV]* 54
Kwasniewski Hails Election Result *[Warsaw TV]* 55
Sejm Speaker on Election Results, Peasant Party *[TRYBUNA 6 Nov]* 57
Walesa Seeks Challenge to Kwasniewski's 'Impudence' *[Warsaw Radio]* 57
Walesa Sees 'Difficult Years' Ahead *[Warsaw TV]* 57
Zych Not To Disclose Oleksy, Kwasniewski Finances *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 3 Nov]* 57
NBP President Back at Work; Views Elections *[Warsaw Radio]* 58
Three Polls on 2d Round of Elections Compared *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 6 Nov]* 58
  Polling Experts Comment *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 6 Nov]* 59
Church Leader Views 2d Round of Elections *[PAP]* 60
Senate Rejects Walesa's Motion on Enfranchisement *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 3 Nov]* 61

ROMANIA

PL '93 Head Stands by His 'Political Opinions' *[ADEVARUL 1 Nov]* 62
Coposu's Condition 'Stationary, With Positive Signs' *[Bucharest Radio]* 62
Tudor: Aide's Resignation 'Prearranged' *[Bucharest Radio]* 62

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Interior Minister: Peace of 'Crucial Importance' *[SRNA]* 63
Foreign Ministry Documents Croat 'Genocide' *[TANJUG]* 63
German Envoy, Serb Representatives Meet *[TANJUG]* 64
Czechs Reassured on National Minority Rights *[TANJUG]* 65
'Sources' Predict Early Dinar Devaluation *[NASA BORBA 27 Oct]* 65
Avramovic on New Monetary Package *[DNEVNIK 28 Oct]* 66

Serbia

French Pilots Said Not To Be in Belgrade *[AFP]* 67
Milosevic Seen To 'Marginalize' Karadzic, Mladic *[AFP]* 67
  Charges Called 'Unjust' *[SRNA]* 68
'Illegitimate' Sandzak Party Group Assailed *[SRNA]* 68
Police Detain POLITIKA Board Chairman *[SRNA]* 69
  Corporation President Ousted *[Belgrade Radio]* 69
  Opposition on POLITIKA Collapse *[SRNA]* 69
Chemical Plant Dismisses Pollution Charges *[POLITIKA EKSPRES 29 Oct]* 69

Montenegro

Bulatovic Views Prospects for Ohio Conference *[VECERNJE NOVOST 28 Oct]* 70

Kosovo

Rugova: Dayton Talks 'Positive' Step *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 70
  Voices Appreciation for Talks *[RILINDJA 4 Nov]* 71
Rugova, Russian Envoys View Political Options *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 72
Popular Party Head on Solution to National Issue *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 72
Writers Urge 'Support' for Rugova Policies *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 72
University Rector Talks With Foreign Diplomats *[SRNA]* 73

Comment: Ex-Communists 'in Cahoots' With Belgrade

AU0311210695 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 31 Oct 95 p 2

[Commentary by G. Mehmetaj: "'Maximal' Demands and a Soft Line"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Autonomous status is unacceptable to the Albanians because such a status was relevant only in the former Yugoslavia, which no longer exists. This status would leave Kosova still under Serbia, an idea that was rejected at the declaration of independence in 1990 and the referendum of 1991." This is a quotation from the letter the Albanian-Americans addressed to Bob Dole. The Albanians of Kosova have already made known through their state and political institutions that they are against any political solution that would leave them under the jurisdiction of Serbia and Montenegro. Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination must hold good as a fundamental principle today too; it was accepted in the cases of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], etc., which were also units of the former Yugoslavia. Throughout East Europe, new states are being born from the ruins of the former Soviet empire, and states divided into pieces are being united.

The repeated statements by leaders of West European countries and the United States that Kosova must be offered extensive autonomy (of what kind is still not clear) must not discourage us or be taken as an accomplished fact, because it is not certain that these states will insist on such a policy. They must, on the contrary, mobilize the Albanians to persuade both their well-wishers and those who are against them that such a solution would be temporary and unstable, and would not offer any kind of guarantee for the future of the new world order. Nor must they arouse the perverted ambitions of some people who seem to feel a sense of satisfaction when the Albanians are offered a solution of this kind and not the one they want, and who then announce that we must accept what is in front of us and not foster what they call damaging illusions.

Various political groups exist, composed entirely of the former political establishment, who, in cahoots with Belgrade but probably also at the instigation of a pro-Slav Western state, see no way out but to accept defeat. Their statements and articles are depressing in their insistence that Belgrade will not agree to talk about autonomy. These same speakers of the Albanian language often equate Milosevic and Rugova, portraying both as nationalist extremes that egg on each other. According to them, forces of the center and of compromise are therefore needed as saviors of the Albanian cause in Kosova. Meanwhile, they see this salvation in an autonomy that they have still not defined and whose nature does not even interest them.

Such gloomy pronouncements, magnifying Serbia's strength and determination, closely resemble articles of a few months ago in certain European newspapers that were translated among us, too, which stated that nobody could oppose the appetite of Serbia and the Serbs of Bosnia for territorial expansion. According to the opinion that they strove to create, the reality that had been created on the ground had to be accepted. However, U.S. intervention showed that the Serbs know how to make compromises and to give way when a strong power demands it. Nor is it certain that the reality they created by force of arms in Kosova will not change, as this handful of mercenaries are trying to persuade us. Whatever talks and obligations these individuals from the former establishment may have entered into, the Albanians of Kosova are under no obligation. The international community, as well as Belgrade, knows this. Nevertheless, both Belgrade and a power of greater or lesser importance in the West are attempting to use certain Albanian individuals as tactical instruments in order to exert pressure on the Albanians' legitimate representatives to surrender their "maximal" demands and to accept what Serbia has up its sleeve for them, of course, when Serbia is forced to sit down with the Albanians at the discussion table. These accessories often ply the road between Prishtina and Belgrade in a clandestine fashion and without anybody's authorization. Nevertheless, despite their dreams of being thrown some bone in recognition of their services, they will be discarded as superfluous when they have accomplished their task, just as they were once before cast out of political life.

Court Postpones Decision on Antigenocide Law

AU0511203695 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 31 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by A. Vata: " 'No Limits' to the Genocide"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, the Constitutional Court agreed to decide later whether the antigenocide law is constitutional or not, without setting a date. Headed by Chairman Gjata, the Constitutional Court gathered yesterday morning and declared that it will make a decision but did not give a date, although a week ago it had set the date for 30 October.

The legal proceedings opened three weeks ago with the lawsuit by the parliamentary groups of the Socialist Party [PS], the Social-Democratic Party [PSD], and the Democratic Alliance Party [PAD] to nullify the antigenocide law. They resumed with disregard for the

PAD group, the withdrawal of Manol Konomi from the jury, and two requests by the parliamentary PS and PSD groups. [PSD Chairman] Gjinushi and [PSD Deputy Chairman] Milo asked for the presence of the Democratic Party [PD] parliamentary group on the role of the prosecutor of the case. "We demand the presence of the PD group chairman in the role of the prosecutor, because he made the proposal for the approval of this unconstitutional law," said Gjinushi yesterday. On the other hand, [PS Deputy Chairman] Dokle and PS Deputies Abdiu and Majko, before reading the lawsuit, demanded the voluntary withdrawal of those who drafted the antigenocide bill. Dokle, chairman of the PS parliamentary group, said: "We have precise information that some of the Constitutional Court members took part in drafting the bill. It is honest of them to withdraw from the jury voluntarily." Dokle did not make their names public, leaving everything to the lawyers' consciences. After these two requests and the dialogue between Dokle and Gjata, who asked repeatedly the names of those who helped draft the law, the jury decided to reject them.

While the PS parliamentary group lawsuit was about the antigenocide law in general, the PSD parliamentary group discussed only Article 3 of this law. "Article 3 of the antigenocide law is unconstitutional. It runs counter to the international acts, to our constitutional provisions. It is contradictory from the legal point of view, and our arguments opposing it are political, constitutional, legal, and moral," said Social Democrat Chairman Gjinushi at the beginning. In his political arguments he mentioned the violation of the Paris Charter on free and equal elections, instigation of totalitarianism, and the class struggle. He dwelt on the constitutional, legal, and moral side of the case. According to Gjinushi, its voting in the parliament was illegal. "The voting on this law, especially the part 'the initiators, authors, executors of the above crimes...' gave the parliament the attributes of a special political court. In a normal state with independent courts, how is it possible for the parliament to declare the culprit and at the same time give the verdict?" Gjinushi considered these acts similar to those of the dictatorship when crimes were revealed by the party and the first secretary, while today "it is the PD and the president." Among the legal arguments Gjinushi brought, is the speculation made with the word "genocide" for propaganda effects, the collective responsibility of all the functionaries of that time, the incompatibility of Article 3 of the law with the Penal Code, etc. As moral complaints against the law Gjinushi pointed out the formulation "...with the exception of cases when they have acted against the official stand and quitted the job publicly." About these cases Gjinushi said, "As Berisha has the courage to ask the others, why doesn't he ask himself why in August 1990 he did not tell Ramiz Alia that the Workers Party must resign and recognize pluripartism, but on the contrary supported him?"

Considering this law, in general, and particularly its Article 3 as fully undemocratic and unconstitutional, as a violation of the right of the people and not of a group of individuals, Gjinushi demanded that this law be nullified by the Constitutional Court.

Former Communists 'Scared'

AU0311081695 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 1 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by P. Re.: "'Genocide': The Blockmen Tremble, While the Opposition Remains Optimistic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—When Albanian President Sali Berisha signed the Genocide Law, no Albanian politician thought that the old partisan Shefqet Peci would die in prison at the age of 89 as a result of this law. The electoral campaign between the Democratic Party [PD] and the Socialist Party [PS] has now concentrated on the campaign against those whose fingers have been "burned" by genocide and the struggle for power. Moreover, old communists who have lost everything are scared and think that the approval of this law is an attempt to reassess the members of the National Front [Ballistet, members of wartime noncommunist resistance organization].

The Socialist opposition, which walked out of parliament several days before the Genocide Law was approved, remains shocked to see that the law has outlawed many of its reformist and non-Marxist members. Nobody at PS headquarters understands why Cani, Bufi, Nano, Agolli, Cuci, and Brokaj should be excluded from parliament until the year 2003. "The Genocide Law," PS Deputy Chairman Ilir Meta explains, "is not intended to punish the crimes of the past, but to incriminate in a speculative fashion the opposition of today."

Social Democrat leader Skender Gjinushi still does not believe that he will be deprived of the opportunity to stand as a deputy next year. He says that his sole political task will be "to make a minority out of the PD, as long as its people still show they do not know what a law is."

According to repeatedly published statistics, a number of young politicians are implicated by the Genocide Law and are tarred with the same brush as old former communist politicians. However, fear has struck into the hearts of not only PS and Social Democratic Party politicians—it has invaded the homes of the former blockmen. Haxhi Lleshi, former chairman of the

People's Assembly, refuses to make a single statement against the Genocide Law. His daughter uses her father's bad health as an excuse to make us leave the house.

The same thing happened with the family of Manush Myftiu, former deputy prime minister and at the same time chairman of the Internment Committee. The members of his family were "dumbstruck" by the request for an interview. "His state of health means that he is unable to tell you anything." The only one who wanted to say something, but could not, was Bedri Spahiu, the communist leader persecuted by the dictator Hoxha. The charges of genocide raised against him seem absurd when one sees his state of health, almost deaf, sclerotic, and incomprehensible speech.

A former politician of the communist regime said that "the entire campaign surrounding this law has two goals: first, to denigrate the values of the National Liberation War, and, second, to attack the opposition and to eliminate its politicians. Today's state is defending the members of the National Front."

At a time when charges against former communist leaders are being raised every day by the Procurator-General's Office, the Tirana PD Chairman Albert Brojka says that "the law was drawn up for those people who had ties with the communist dictatorship, to give them an opportunity for rehabilitation, and to show the world that communism will never come to power again."

Westinghouse Offers Plan To Update Kozloduy Units

AU0311193395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 3 Nov 95

[Press release issued by the Government Press Center through BTA]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Kiril Tsochev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade and foreign economic cooperation, received Raymond Sero, general manager of the U.S. Westinghouse Electric Corporation. The subject of their talks was the presentation of a plan to modernize the reactor units of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant, the possibilities for making studies in the nuclear energy field, and the modernization of the entire Bulgarian energy system.

Raymond Sero presented the fundamental premises contained in the proposals for modernizing the Nos. 5 and 6 reactor units at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant on the basis of a loan provided by the U.S. Export-Import Bank, negotiations on which are being held between the U.S. Department of Energy and Westinghouse representatives. In its current version, the proposal envisions 85 percent of the total funding for the project to be provided by Eximbank, with the remaining 15 percent coming from the Bulgarian Government, with the terms for repaying the loan to be negotiated subsequently.

Kiril Tsochev pointed out that in the event of the negotiations being successful, the Bulgarian side has possibilities for the necessary work to be carried out by its own specialists. He also pointed out that our country will insist on negotiating the best possible terms for making repayments by installments of the loan that may be granted for 85 percent of the total cost of the project.

Raymond Sero pointed out that the total cost of the proposed modernization amounts to about $250 million. He handed over two volumes of documentation on the project.

Kiril Tsochev pointed out that the Bulgarian side will familiarize itself in detail with the technical information and the calculations contained in the project's draft budget in the context of the forthcoming adoption of the overall strategy for Bulgaria's energy industry.

Toward the end of the talks, the issue of the No. 1 reactor at Kozloduy came up. Raymond Sero emphasized that part of the authority that Westinghouse enjoys is due to the company's strict observance of the principle that analyses and assessments should be based solely on the facts. He pointed out that his company possesses substantial practical experience in studies of nuclear reactors, including ones that have been in service for a far longer period than the present service life of the Kozloduy No. 1 reactor. Raymond Sero expressed optimism regarding the results of the analyses on the No. 1 reactor that will most likely be carried out in mid-March 1996. As grounds for his optimism, he cited the fact that tests carried out on a similar reactor in Finland had indisputably demonstrated that this type of installation can be used until the end of its design life.

In conclusion, Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev emphasized that Bulgaria has never for a moment deviated from strict observance of the domestic and international legislation that regulates the safe use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. He stressed that the Bulgarian economy is on the upturn, which is a prerequisite for the possible implementation of the project proposed by Westinghouse.

Turkish Consulate Invites TDP to Reception

AU0411141895 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 1 Nov 95 p 2

[Article by Ventsislav Venkov: "Illegal Party Honored by Turkish Diplomats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The entire leadership of the unregistered Turkish Democratic Party [TDP] was invited to a reception at the Turkish Consulate in Burgas to celebrate our southern neighbor's National Day, the party's leader Adem Kenan announced yesterday in Shumen.

According to Kenan, this is the first time that the Turkish diplomats have officially honored his party. Until now, Ankara has reportedly distanced itself from the illegal organization. The Rights and Freedoms Movement was also invited to the reception, but not the Party of Democratic Changes founded by Mehmed Gendzhev. Kenan said that this is a clear sign as to which party Ankara regards as representing the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Kenan and his deputy Emin Hamdi received personal invitations signed by Yetkin Adailmaz, the Turkish consul in Burgas, but a further seven persons also attended the reception.

Zhelev Urges Citizens To Vote for Sofiyanski

AU0311150295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, President Zhelev met Reneta Indzhova for lunch in the Krim [Crimea] Restaurant in Sofia. Following their luncheon, he made a statement in her presence to correspondents. At the insistence of the Presidential Press Center and in accordance with the interim television and radio statute, we are broadcasting this statement.

[Begin Zhelev recording] I invited Ms. Indzhova to lunch to inform her of my admiration of the gracious gesture she made in withdrawing her candidature from the second ballot in favor of the now truly united democratic opposition. By this act, she not only kept the promise that she made earlier, but also provides a precedent in our political life that is of increasing value. This precedent obliges our politicians to keep the promises that they make in their election campaigning and to come up to European standards.

Both Mrs. Indzhova and I will vote for the candidate of the united democratic opposition, Stefan Sofiyanski, and I use this opportunity to appeal to all the capital's residents to turn out for the election in mass and to vote for Mr. Sofiyanski. [end recording]

Zhelev 'Concerned' by 'Attempts at Censorship'

AU0611121395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At Sofia Airport this morning, President Zhelev spoke to journalists before he left at the head of an official delegation for Israel to attend the funeral of Israeli President Yitzhaq Rabin. At the airport, journalists asked him to comment on the letter sent to him by the editor in chief of the TRUD newspaper in connection with the threats made against the newspaper by Prime Minister Videnov, which included a threat to sue the newspaper in court.

[Begin Zhelev recording] I am a strong defender of freedom of speech, even in cases where it is misused. It is better for such instances to exist than for the press to be persecuted and oppressed. Without freedom of speech, democracy simply cannot exist and this threatens all the other civic and human rights. Naturally, any person is entitled to apply to the courts if he really has grounds for this, if a particular person or institution has suffered moral or material damage—this is the formal situation. However, it is for the judge to assess whether the claims are well founded.

I am also concerned by the attempts at censorship that we have been seeing lately. The most recent case was my statement—my address—on television last night. According to the Constitution, when the head of state makes a statement before the national flag, that is an address. It is important that it should be a formal address, not that it should start with the words: Dear Citizens, Dear Compatriots, and so forth, because of the funereal nature of the address. What happened last night is only part of a policy that a certain group is trying to impose, a policy of brutal censorship of the national media. I intend to raise this question, because it is a question of violating not only the Constitution, but also the law. [end recording]

[Announcer] Asked whether he would apply to the Constitutional Court, President Zhelev said: We will see about that later.

Yablenski Elected Mayor of Stara Zagora

AU0611115095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0500 GMT 6 Nov 95

[Report by correspondent Mikho Khristakis of Radio Stara Zagora on result of the second round of the municipal elections in Stara Zagora on 5 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Of the total of 140,390 eligible voters, 80,614, or 57.4 percent, voted. Of these, 42,786, or 53.9 percent, voted for Professor Tsanko Yablenski, the candidate of the united opposition, while Svetozar Terziev, the candidate of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and its coalition, received 37,258 votes, or 46.5 percent.

The elections took place in a calm atmosphere, according to Captain Ivan Marinov from the regional operational headquarters of the Stara Zagora Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs. The transfer of the ballot papers to the Municipal Electoral Commission also took place without incident.

Havel on Ties to Germany, Bosnia Peacekeeping

LD0511182295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 5 Nov 95

[Regular Sunday interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Robert Tamchyna; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] Mr. President, you met your German counterpart, Roman Herzog, in Dresden last Monday. Is it possible to consider this meeting as yet another summit on the Czech-German issue?

[Havel] The main reason for our meeting was our wish to attend the joint session of the Czech-German commission of historians, which was set up on the basis of an intergovernmental agreement. This commission is very active and we held two hours of talks with it. We were both impressed by the discussion. It has become clear that Czech and German historians are capable of creating a well-functioning team with friendly atmosphere. The team studies various chapters of modern Czech-German history, compares views on various sensitive issues, and collects documents for further study. In my view, this is one of the many good things that were born after the fall of communism—we are looking for authentic truth about our relations. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] There were many aspects in relations between the Czechs and Germans that were deliberately made taboo before 1989. Do you think that after the six years that have passed since November 1989 the unveiling of the contradictory moments in the bilateral history has changed?

[Havel] I think it is changing quite a lot. For a long time there were certain taboos and there were many things that could not be spoken about. There was the peaceful German Democratic Republic and there was some kind of a bad Federal Republic headed by the Sudeten Germans. During these six years, many things have changed, not only in professional circles but also in the public and in free discussion in the press and at the level of civic, regional, and economic cooperation. I think this is a firm basis for good future relations. We can observe that certain emotions, passionate feelings, prejudice, and fossilized 50-year-old feelings are gradually fading away from public opinion, and reason prevails. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] There were reports about a controversy between you and the prime minister concerning our sending of peacekeeping units to Bosnia. I would like to ask you in this connection: To what extent are you reconciled to the fact that such misinterpretations appear? As it later became clear, there was allegedly no truth in the report.

Havel] There was not a single grain of truth in that report. [passage omitted] I really believe—and this belief became even stronger especially after the trip to the United States—that a certain kind of presence in the region of Bosnia, once some kind of peace settlement or peace agreement has been reached, is for many various reasons inevitable for us. The agreement will have to be guaranteed by certain units. Many countries—not only NATO member countries but also Hungary, Poland, and other countries—said they would participate in this. It seems to me that we really cannot be missing in these units. If we really seriously mean that we want to share the responsibility for security in Europe, if we really mean that we want to become NATO members and we do not want to become its members only to be protected by others but also because we want to take part in joint collective defense, then, in my view, we cannot be missing in such an important peace mission.

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, there is also the question of whether our Army is ready to prepare and send such a unit.

[Havel] First, an official invitation or request for such participation would have to arrive. Obviously, this could happen after the peace agreement has been concluded. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Demarches Issued to Bratislava

AU0411162995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 30 Oct 95 p 7

[Commentary by Peter Schultz: "A Bagful of Demarches"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Eduard Kukan, foreign minister of the former Moravcik government, was very wrong when he said for the 27 October issue of NARODNA OBRODA that a "third demarche would not come about." It did. Only 48 hours after the EU demarche, U.S. Ambassador to Slovakia Theodor Russell presented it to Prime Minister Meciar in the name of world power Number One. Thus, within two days, practically the entire democratic world let the representatives of the Slovak Republic know its opinion on the current situation in the country.

The U.S. version is both in content and structure remarkably similar—perhaps excessively so—to its 25 October "European" model. It is also divided into three parts: The first one renders concerns that "measures that could have a negative effect on the democratic transformation process could be taken against the president...." (EU version: "...regarding the president, actions have been taken that could be contrary to the Constitution and the common democratic practice of the EU"). Despite Clinton's recent statement about maintaining neutrality in the Slovak internal political dispute, this cannot be interpreted any other way but as unequivocal support for President Kovac. Given the well-known instability of opinions within the government coalition on political and security integration of the Slovak Republic, such a gesture could prove rather counterproductive—both Slota's coalition Slavofiles and the Luptak-type neobolsheviks receive additional ammunition for their anti-Western demagoguery.

The second "cut" of the demarche expresses the U.S. Government's conviction that Slovakia should emphasize more tolerance for different views, full support for constitutional rights, and "openness of the government's activities" (EU: "The EU attributes great importance to mutual tolerance and mutual respect of individual centers of power"). The third part focuses on Slovak ambitions to join transatlantic (EU: European) structures, points out the duties and obligations arising therefrom for the country, and recommends "to intensify the efforts to adjust to these criteria" (EU pointed out to the Slovak representatives the significance of these criteria and the necessity for Slovakia to show some effort to adjust to these criteria). The extremely "monozygotic" likeness of the two demarches does not leave any doubt that the "problem Slovakia" was consulted by the two parties beforehand.

Because of the immediate publication of the texts by Brussels and the USIS in Bratislava—as opposed to the first demarche of November 1994—the interpretation camouflages surrounding the meaning of the word "demarche" and the content activated by the government-coalition propaganda have not concealed anything this time. Even if Russell, in an attempt to prevent interpretational disputes, emphasized in his introduction to the demarche the "neutral hue of this instrument used for formal communication between governments." The "neutrality of expression" is overridden by the absolutely exceptional character of such a form of "formal communication"—Russell would probably not be able to remember when his government last used such a "formal communication" with a friendly country.

European Commission spokesman Nico Wegter could not remember either and to the question of whether the EU has sent a demarche to some other countries, he replied that "he has not been informed to that effect." Just to refresh his and other memories, it can do no harm if we mention that the last demarche before the "Slovak double" carries the date of 1991 and was delivered to the then government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.... The way in which the EU probably perceives the situation in Slovakia is further illustrated by Wegters additional commentary: "... Some elements that evoke some concerns in the EU bodies can be found also in Bulgaria and Romania." It is a matter of general knowledge that, to date, neither of the two Balkan countries has merited a single demarche....

To accept the definitely exclusive nature of such a diplomatic intervention is useful also for the correct interpretation of formulations used in the demarches. Thus, for instance, "anxiety"—read complete disagreement, indignation; "concern"—read feeling of imminent danger; "recommendation"—read caution, (serious) warning; etc. In simple and clear words, the double euro-american appeal at the end of last week is a step of unprecedented gravity. Thus, the impertinence of Vladimir Meciar is even more shocking because Meciar, despite his assurance to Russell that the government will deal with the demarche in its session, ventured on two immediate solo reactions: First, he reproached the U.S. Government because "the inability to conduct an equal dialogue with all Slovak representatives continues," and, second, he refused the U.S. opinion, whereby it assesses the level of democracy by the method of a criminal investigation.

He should not have said that. Namely, it is the worst mistake he could make. In this way, the U.S. ambassador obtained in direct personal contact—so-to-say firsthand—the best proof that the most influential and, according to all ofthe polls, the most trustworthy politician in the Slovak Republic is not a democrat. The course and the results of the continuing investigation of the abduction of Kovac Jr. is precisely the litmus test that will show the true color of Slovak democracy. A state that endeavors to cover up traces of a crime—moreover, in a situation wherein its own security corps is a suspect—simply cannot be democratic. If the supreme representative of the executive does not realize this, there is nothing one could discuss with him.

Although no demarche mentions any investigation, Meciar's words make it obvious that tete-a-tete Russell described the investigation as a criterion of highest significance. It is a very sad fact that both demarches used the president himself as another "touchstone" of Slovak democracy—this means a man whose merits for the present Slovak reality are second perhaps only to those of his main adversary, be it his merits at the cradle of Meciarism or the later engagement in the "anti-Meciar resistance," by means of which he pushed the opposition he supports to an electoral defeat that eventually led to three demarches. The "presidential" condition is, however, also very reasonable, given that the Barbarian methods used in the manhunt for the head of state, which are very reminiscent of the Bolshevik past, have long gone beyond even the most benevolent limits imaginable in a democratic environment and are not compatible with the standards customary in the civilized world.

So, the West let the Slovak Republic know in an unusually strong manner that it should settle its domestic situation. The very first signals from within the coalition, however, indicate that it will be necessary to keep one's expectations "down." Nevertheless, if everything remains "the old way," Eduard Kukan will be proved right—another demarche is not likely to come to Slovakia. Therefore, an optimist and a good patriot in Slovakia today is a person who believes in an incessant flow of demarches in the future. That is the maximum—he cannot hope for any higher goals for the time being.

Zeman on Postelection Governing Strategy

95CH0344A Prague TYDEN in Czech 7 Aug 95 pp 36-39

[Interview with Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, by Jiri Franek and Michal Ruzicka; place and date not given: "The World According to Zeman"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The latest public opinion polls indicate that the approval rate of the Czech Social Democratic Party continues to climb. Milos Zeman, chairman of this strongest opposition party, insists that the explanation is simple. "After 40 years of communism," he says, "the idea that the other extreme would be best has prevailed here. Now we are beginning to be a normal country, and illusions about the rightist experiment are beginning to dissipate."*

[TYDEN] Wage increases in the Czech Republic markedly exceed increases in labor productivity. You insist that you know a better solution than does the current government. If you actually were to govern, people would be repeatedly asking—you especially—for more. But where to find the necessary resources?

[Zeman] I agree with you that increasing labor productivity is one of the most important tasks of any government. We can, of course, adopt the philosophy that the government is not responsible for increasing productivity because it is the responsibility of private entrepreneurs. That, of course, is not only very convenient, but also obviously inconsistent with the economic policy of the governments of practically all the EU [European Union] countries—and not just those countries at that. The government must share in the creation of conditions for entrepreneurs; for example, in the area of proexport policy. We must also see to it that tax evasion, which is enormously widespread and which according to modest estimates amounts to several tens of billions a year, is finally prosecuted. To that end we proposed in the parliament a law, although it did not pass, that would require furnishing proof of the source of income and property, and that was based on the European convention on the fight against money laundering. We proposed establishing a Financial Police and a Financial Prosecutor's Office. Although we have no illusions that we can eliminate all tax evasion—obviously no one will succeed in doing that—we nevertheless think that a substantial number of tax evaders can be identified and punished. So this would be one of the resources.

Another important component of our economic policy is a program of investments in the infrastructure, that is, investments in transportation, telecommunication, and energy networks. We base our policy on the theory that these investments contribute to the rekindling of economic growth. We have no intention to nationalize, we have no intention to raise taxes, but we reject the idea that the existing privatization is a real transfer of assets to private hands, because in our opinion the majority of enterprises are owned by investment funds, most of the privatization funds are owned by banks, and the state has the controlling share of ownership in most of the main banks. So what kind of privatization is that?

[TYDEN] Let's break down your answer into specific points. First, tax evasion: Many laws have been passed on this subject, but a law by itself will not solve anything, and you will have to work with the government establishment, which is what it is....

[Zeman] In no way would I want to insult our government officials, but we have indications that many experts are deeply dissatisfied with the current level of the administration. But you are right about the fact that the law by itself is not sufficient; we need executive institutions along with the law, and I named them: financial police and financial prosecutor. Ask yourself why the government fights these laws. According to our hypothesis, it may even be because bringing some of these affairs to a close might uncover connections that could be uncomfortable for the government.

[TYDEN] Can you be specific?

[Zeman] If this law is approved, and if the mentioned institutions begin to function, then this suspicion will either be confirmed or disproved.

[TYDEN] Are you saying, therefore, that funds from collected taxes, which you will not raise, will be sufficient to increase social, ecological, educational, and health care budgets—and on top of that will be enough to satisfy the constant pressure to increase wages? Or would you maybe even resort to a deficit budget?

[Zeman] First of all, the amount of unpaid taxes is estimated at 50 billion Czech korunas [Kc] a year. Wage demands, which exist today, are on the order of several hundred million, a few billion at the most. We must keep in mind the ratio between these two factors. Second, the fight against tax evasion is merely a part of our broader policy. As far as a deficit budget is concerned, it depends on what you want to use such a deficit for. If it means just spending money, including satisfying wage demands, then we say a clear no. If, on the other hand, you put these resources into infrastructure investments, which will bring a revitalization of demand on the domestic market, for example in construction firms, then we say yes.

[TYDEN] Do you realize that at a time when some cutbacks are taking place it creates a great deal of misgiving to say "let's go into debt" and things will get better...?

[Zeman] Listen, we are in a situation where we need some basic economic stimulus in order to speed up economic growth. Count along with me: If we achieve a yearly 5-percent growth of the GDP, then we shall catch up with the standard of EU countries in 50 years. Unless we increase this rate to at least 8 percent, we shall be hard put to join the EU in 10 or 15 years.

[TYDEN] Another problem, which at this time is probably the most important one: How do you want to assist foreign trade?

[Zeman] We start from the position that there exists a range of proexport policy instruments, and we do not want to do anything else than what has proven useful in Western economies. Exports have been decreasing over a long period primarily because our ability to compete is diminishing. There are two reasons for that. First, the capital flow is not sufficient for new investments, that is, for restructuring and for increasing labor productivity. Second, there is not sufficient motivation, including ownership motivation. We must build up a strong Czech capital—of course, not by means of fraudulent financial speculators of the VK Invest type, but rather in the form of new Batas.

[TYDEN] A new Bata.... How long does it take for a new Bata to develop?

[Zeman] In my opinion, five to 10 years. It depends, of course, on specific conditions, but in any case he must go through the phase of a small and then midsize entrepreneur. When you look at the conditions entrepreneurs face, you find that precisely because of the credit burden and the tax evasion problem, for which ultimately the entrepreneur has to pay with his taxes, they are in a very difficult situation.

[TYDEN] But every start-up needs investment....

[Zeman] Here again you can see a certain ignorance of our official economists. Economic theory distinguishes two basic types of investments—tangible investments and intangible investments. An example of intangible investments is organizational change or change in motivation. In Japan now, but also in a number of U.S. companies, specifically in General Electric to give an example, they are introducing a system of intangible investments that consist of eliminating phases of the production process that do not create any new value. In an extreme case it is possible to eliminate up to 90 percent of phases. And as far as changing motivation is concerned? At one time we proposed employee stock ownership, because we think that an employee who has a stake in the enterprise's output or the dividend will want to increase the output of his enterprise. His motivation will increase. In many instances you can apply this even on the managerial level, because a manager is nothing else but another kind of employee.

[TYDEN] But that is at the level of enterprise management, not at the level of managing the economy. Can you possibly have in mind ordering enterprises, from your position as prime minister, to introduce employee stock ownership?

[Zeman] In view of the fact that the introduction of voucher shares was centrally directed, I think that it is possible to proceed in an analogous way also in the case of employee shares. I will cite one simple fact as an example: In the 1970's and 1980's, the U.S. Congress passed altogether 20 laws that concerned employee stock ownership. But I shall go back to the original question: One of the fundamental mistakes of our policy lies precisely in the fact that it assumes that it is possible to raise labor productivity by financial wizardry at the central level, in other words, that it favors macroeconomics over microeconomics. We think that the government should also make rules for microeconomic development—naturally, not by ordering enterprises what to produce and to whom to sell, but by the already mentioned system of tax, credit, and motivational measures.

[TYDEN] What would you propose to do about the koruna in this connection?

[Zeman] First, let me say that we support the current rate of exchange of the koruna, even though we did not agree with the series of devaluation measures, especially the last one.

[TYDEN] Will it be possible to maintain this stable rate of exchange? There is, after all, great pressure to devaluate.

[Zeman] Take a look at the speculative foreign capital that is coming here, and ask yourselves why. You will find that it comes here for two reasons. First, it benefits from the difference between the domestic interest rates and those of foreign banks. Second, investors are expecting devaluation. But in the meantime there has been a trade deficit and only a total economic idiot—and in spite of all the bad opinion I have about the government I know that it is not composed of total economic idiots—would reevaluate currency during a trade deficit. But if the those who have been sending capital here because of, among other things, the expectations that the currency will be devalued, all of a sudden realize that these expectations will not be fulfilled, then the capital could be quickly withdrawn.

[TYDEN] You often criticize the government for the way it handles ecology, health care, and education. Could you tell us your specific ideas in these areas?

[Zeman] Because the time frame of our interview does not allow me to go into details concerning all these subjects, I shall use a specific example. As you know, in 1992 the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] used the election slogan "Health care will be cured by competition." It was in part a consequence of this slogan that many insurance companies came into being, along with many administrative units, buildings, and unnecessary overhead costs. The creation of a single health care insurance company would significantly lower overhead costs, and the insurance system would then be more transparent and more easily controlled.

[TYDEN] Does that mean that if you were to form a government, you would abolish insurance companies?

[Zeman] We would propose to the parliament a law about such a type of insurance that would assume an integrated insurance company. That would be nothing that is unusual.

[TYDEN] Doesn't this smack a little of nationalization?

[Zeman] I said that we have no intention to nationalize. Health care reforms in West European countries are going in the same direction, after all. It is often a good idea to look outside our borders. Sometimes, when I have only one minute to say what we would do in case we win in the elections, I reply: Go and visit our neighbor Austria—Social Democrats have been in power there for a very long time—and you can see the results. However, so that we understand each other: Standard insurance under the law and supplementary insurance are a different matter. Naturally, the standard insurance we would not abolish by law. Only when someone takes out a supplementary insurance on their own initiative would it be a matter for commercial insurance companies.

[TYDEN] There is need for some continuity in the economy. Your potential government would have to continue even such actions that basically go against your grain. What would you do about the voucher privatization, for example?

[Zeman] The holders of voucher shares will retain their shares, from which, in my opinion, they are not getting much profit. On the other hand, with the laws on employee stock ownership we would be looking for ways to strengthen these employee shares in a market-conforming style, for example, by increasing the basic capital or by voluntary sell-offs by those voucher shareholders who would be interested in selling.

[TYDEN] And so we are back to the stock ownership plan for employees and managers. As if it were to solve everything....

[Zeman] A system of managers' stock ownership makes entrepreneurs out of capable (and only capable) managers. In the U.S. ESOP [Employee Stock Ownership Plan] system the advantage of employee stock ownership lies in the fact that a good entrepreneur wants to keep capable employees by means of some kind of fidelity bonus. And it works.

[TYDEN] How general is its use?

[Zeman] In the United States this system has been introduced in about 10,000 companies, which, from the viewpoint of their share in total U.S. production, is about 12 percent.

[TYDEN] We have the feeling that you are picking cherries here and there that are the result of growing conditions entirely different from ours. The U.S. economy, after all, was not built on employee shares.

[Zeman] But you see, here we have been solving a technological problem, how to denationalize. One possibility, which had populistic appeal and won the elections for ODS, is to give everyone a fictitious share of state assets. We recommended another way—employee shares.

[TYDEN] But if you had introduced employee shares in 1990, then you would have had to introduce them also in enterprises that were practically scheduled for liquidation.

[Zeman] You see, you have finally come to the so-called strategic planning. Theory says that the market is a marvelous instrument for short-term allocation of assets. We do not want to disclaim the market, we merely want to combine it with other mechanisms for allocating assets. Jacques Attali, former governor of the European Bank, used to say that the market fails in the areas of long-term and difficult to revert investments. Had the Americans planned project Apollo on the basis of commercial criteria, they would never have landed on the moon.

[Box, p 37]

Milos Zeman was born on 28 September 1944 in Kolin. He graduated from the School of Economics in political economy. In 1968 he joined the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], from which he was expelled two years later. From 1971 to 1984 he worked in the physical education enterprises Noctua, Technosport, and Sportpropag. In 1985 he joined the Economic Research Institute ZPOK, where he worked until 1989. In 1990 he worked in the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and in the same year became a deputy in the Federal Assembly for the Civic Forum. At present he is chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party.

Budget Surplus of Kc12.3 Billion at End Oct

LD0611114995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 6 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech state budget ended after the first 10 months of this year with a surplus of 12.3 billion Czech korunas [Kc]. Revenue totaled more than Kc355 billion, and overall expenditure reached the amount of Kc343.4 billion.

Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik has commented on the figures with the following:

[Begin Kocarnik recording] With regard to our overall projections for the 1995 budget, which have been defined as the premises for the overall revenues into the 1996 budget, these October figures show that our projections were realistic. It means that our prognosis of the end-of-year situation, based on October's figures, is that the revenues to the budget should be met with a possible variation of plus or minus Kc1 or 2 billion. [end recording]

Minister Kocarnik also spoke about finance in health care. He said that it was important to cut expenditure. This task has not quite been mastered by hospital managements. As regards plans for next year, health-care expenditure should even go above the limit of Kc100 billion.

Industry Minister Interviewed on Bankruptcies

96ES0004A Paris LES ECHOS in French 16 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy by Frederic Magnan in Paris; date not given: "Czech Industry Minister Dlouhy: 'We Are Going To Tighten the Bankruptcy Act'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Taking privatization further and restructuring companies are the two major challenges requiring urgent action, according to Vladimir Dlouhy, Czech minister of commerce and industry, who mentioned the possibility of pilot projects in the electric and gas industries.*

In an interview granted to LES ECHOS while in Paris on a state visit, the young freemarketer Vladimir Dlouhy said that, in his government's view, five years after the beginning of reforms, with six out of 10 Czechs having embraced capitalism by acquiring privatization coupons, the country had unquestionably "moved from the transition stage to the growth stage." At first glance, the figures support this opinion. This year, the private sector should account for 70 percent of GDP compared to 56 percent in 1994, growth should approach 4 percent compared to 2.7 percent in 1994, and industrial production for the first semester exceeded 7 percent. Another tangible sign of progress on reform is that full convertibility of the koruna, already a de facto reality for businesses, passed a decisive milestone on 1 October with the deregulation of foreign-currency transactions for private citizens. Czechs can now open foreign-currency accounts, invest abroad, acquire foreign real estate, and take out foreign-currency loans without the authorization of the central bank. The law in question, which, according to Dlouhy, "crowns" the transition, should allow Prague to become a full-fledged member of the OECD "before the end of the year."

However, this idyllic picture was nuanced by Dlouhy himself, who said that the "privatization process has not been complete" and that Prague could "take it even further." Restitution of property nationalized by the communists beginning in 1948, a solution the Czech Government chose over compensation through coupons, has been more complicated than expected. As a result, "some companies, even though they have developed investment plans, still do not know who their real owners are." Taking privatization further also means opening the capital of "strategic" companies to foreign investors. "We plan to privatize the regional power distribution companies," Dlouhy said, indicating that pilot projects may be launched in the electric and gas industries.

The major challenge is undoubtedly the restructuring of businesses, which means bringing about bankruptcy proceedings. The debts of the companies in virtual bankruptcy are held by the banks, which control 70 percent of the outstanding stock through investment funds. As both shareholders and lenders, they are not inclined to require the companies to sign promissory notes. This situation partially explains the Czech Republic's particularly low unemployment rate (estimated at 2.9 percent in July). "We are going to tighten the bankruptcy act," the minister of commerce and industry said. He expected a rise in unemployment in the coming months but emphasized that the Czech economy had already demonstrated its ability to absorb unemployment in 1993 and 1994, when "30,000 people were losing their jobs every month."

Of course, the Czech Republic's other major challenge in the coming years is membership in the European Union, which Prague hopes to see at the turn of the century, five or six years after the close of the 1996 intergovernmental conference on reforming European institutions. However, while the Czechs are prepared to conform to the new European structures, they insist that the Fifteen, too, put this period to use, in order "to prepare seriously for eastward expansion" and "to adjust" certain "shaky" policies such as the CAP (common agricultural policy).

Researcher: Czech Family Not in Crisis

95CH0350A Prague RESPEKT in Czech 6 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by Jindrich Sidlo: "The Czech Family in the Language of Numbers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two-thirds of the men in this country and almost three-fourths of the women consider marriage to be a "sacred institution" and the marriage vow to be a lifelong promise. For 70 percent of men and 83 percent of women, moreover, marriage and children are "the most important thing on earth." This is evident from an extensive, just completed research project entitled "The Composition of the Family," the results of which are commented on by its authors from the Research Institute for Labor and Social Affairs, who find, optimistically, that the "Czech family is not in crisis."

However, the virtually idyllic looking numbers are called somewhat into doubt by another factor. Despite the fact that six out of 10 respondents consider divorce to be "a bad thing in any case," for more than three-fourths of them it is the "only right solution" in the event of major disagreements within the marriage. It is precisely the high number of divorces (in 1993, for example, there were 46 divorces for every 100 marriages concluded) that is frequently cited as a reason for the crisis in the Czech family. However, according to Jiri Kovarik, author of the research project, the numbers themselves are misleading in this case: "The mere ratio of divorces to the number of new marriages tends to overlook the fact a little bit that these are different weddings and different marriages." According to the research project, most divorces occurred in the age group from 45 to 59 years of age. "Under socialism, a wedding presented one of the few opportunities for actual free decision," says Dr. Kovarik. "Moreover, people frequently married very young and, at the same time, for the most part had children very shortly after marrying. In virtually 80 percent of the cases, these people did not even have their own apartment and lived with their parents. Such a marriage carried with it some risk factors from the very beginning."

The Czech Republic continues to be one of the countries whose citizens are entering upon marriage on an average three to six years sooner than is the case in developed West European countries. Recently, however, this trend is beginning to slowly change: The average Czech bride today is no longer 20 years of age, as was the case some time ago, but she is virtually 22 years old; the bridegroom has gotten a year older and is now 25. Despite the fact that virtually one-half of the brides continue to be married because, to put it briefly, "they must," Dr. Kovarik is convinced that the tiller has already turned. "People are slowly beginning to put off marriage until such a time as they are able to afford it economically," the scientist contends. "Marriage is becoming merely one of numerous possible free decisions—for example, apart from studies or starting up in business."

The question as to how economic and social pressures will influence the Czech family in the future reportedly has two possible answers: The more optimistic one claims that the family will become a firm hinterland for its members in uncertain times; pessimists, on the other hand, believe that there will be an increase in stress, arguments, and, in that case, also in divorces. "I personally believe that the first variant will tend to prevail," Dr. Kovarik opines.

Virtually two-thirds of Czech households are made up of so-called complete families. (This is, incidentally, 9 percent fewer than was the case 25 years ago and 4 percent fewer than was the case 15 years ago.) Even in complete families, which are sanctified by marriage vows, we can understandably find "dissatisfied" spouses—according to the research project, approximately one-fifth, women as well as men. In "unconventional" families, the number of the dissatisfied is around 35 percent, and virtually every second parent is dissatisfied in incomplete families. In this connection, it is interesting to note that people with a higner education tend to be happier in marriage, for the most part; the research project found that 70 percent of those with a basic education are content in the lasting "first" marriages. In the case of advanced school graduates, this number is 11 points higher.

"The Composition of the Family" research project contributed, at the very least, yet another noteworthy result: The average Czech family considers itself to be "poor." In this country, families with a net income of 900 to 4,800 korunas [Kc] per member designated themselves as being poor; families with a per capita income ranging from Kc1,000 to Kc33,000 felt that they were "more likely poor than rich." And the average per capita net income for a Czech married family is Kc3,500 per month.

At the present time, the Institute for Labor and Social Affairs is preparing another study involving the Czech family—this time, involving those families this research project categorized as being "endangered." Apart from incomplete families and households of pensioners, or those living alone, this category includes, for example, the families of the unemployed, of blue-collar workers, cooperative workers, beginning businessmen, individuals with a basic education, "north Bohemia and north Moravia" families, and those who consider their standard of living even in the long term as being "poor." Does this rich enumeration of "endangered families" not contrast with the claim that the Czech family is not in crisis? "I believe not," says Dr. Kovarik. "The purpose of this study was specifically to polemicize with the view on crisis and with the fact that things will only get worse. We cannot speak of a crisis when it is clear that, thanks to the functioning of the family, certain civic virtues have survived, for example, the concept of democracy. This does nothing to change the fact that a number of families can, for example, find themselves endangered at a specific time and in a specific situation. The goal of the subsequent study will be to find and to describe the differences between those endangered families that somehow become masters of their situation and those that are not capable of doing so."

Meciar Expresses Shock, Sadness at Rabin's Death

LD0511190595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has sent a telegram of condolences to Israeli Acting Prime Minister Shim'on Peres.

The telegram says: We were shocked and greatly saddened on hearing that the life of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin was taken away by a murderous hand.

He was a great politician who embodied the wisdom of a statesman, courage, and enormous determination to break through the ice of the long-lasting conflict in the Middle East, the barriers of the ingrained and deeply rooted mutual distrust and suspicion. He embarked on a difficult and thorny path toward peace, understanding, and tolerance. It was also thanks to him that in the Middle East peace and cooperation have assumed a more clear form, and the mission began to be fulfilled of which he was a determined and relentless defender and for which he sacrificed the most precious thing—his life.

With great hope, we followed the first successes of his undying efforts, which resulted in a positive progress in the Middle East peace process. We were deeply moved watching that symbolic handshake between the enemies.

In his telegram, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar went on to express, on behalf of the government, the people, and on his own behalf, sincere sympathy to the bereaved and to the Israeli Government and the people of this friendly country.

Leads Funeral Delegation

LD0511134495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Delegations from all over the world will be present at the funeral of Yitzhaq Rabin. The Slovak delegation, headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, will also be among them. Other members of the delegation will be: Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk; Olga Keltosova, minister of labor, social affairs, and family; and Ambassador Frantisek Dlhopolcek.

Meciar Refutes Kovac's Charges, Views Policies

LD0311220995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1736 GMT 3 Nov 95

["Regular Friday Interview" with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, conducted by correspondent Ivan Bielko; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bielko] Mr. Prime Minister: Yesterday, in his radio address, Slovak President Michal Kovac made a number of charges against the government, parliament, and you. He was, in fact, reacting to your interview broadcast on Slovak Radio on Friday last week. However, this further escalated tension, and solved nothing. The other thing is that yesterday, officials representing the central bodies of state administration supported a statement by the Slovak Government of 19 September calling on the president to consider whether he should continue in office, and asking him to resign in the interest of Slovakia.

Given that the president holds a different view, it should probably be for parliament to find a solution to this conflict, or perhaps it should be for citizens to decide in a referendum. If there is nobody to take this decisive step, what way out of this situation do you see?

[Meciar] As regards the president's views, in short we could say that there is, in fact, nothing new at Bratislava Castle. His address is rich neither from an intellectual point of view, nor from a political science point of view. However, the poorer it is in this aspect, the richer it is in hatred. Neither is it new that the president favors a different government, and would favor a different parliamentary majority. But there is nothing he can do as he is at odds with the majority of citizens in this state.

In the situation when the president is losing support at home, he turns abroad. And this is something one should not do. He also turns to citizens, pretending he is striving for understanding. However, despite a space for consultations, openned by me last Friday [27 October], what we got instead was a fresh attack.

In the same way, the Slovak president's idea that the demarche was in his support is false. The demarche is addressed to all the constitutional bodies, including him. Everything is slightly different.

It is not possible to continue like this for long. There is no point in speculating about the formation of a kind of a caretaker government and about the change of the existing situation in parliament. There is no point in speculating about an option whereby the president summons political parties to face the music once they decide to follow an independent path. This contradicts the Constitution.

Therefore, there is an option of one's personal decision, but the president is not courageous enough to do so. There is also an option of a parliamentary decision, as well as an option of a citizens' decision. [passage indistinct]

As regards personal attacks against me, I reject any analogy turning me into the president's opponent. No—he is in conflict with the constitutional institutions and with the majority of the citizens of our state, and not with Meciar.

[Bielko] So, where should the decisive step originate—in parliament?

[Meciar] It can only originate in parliament. There, the Constitution and the laws of the state will be respected by all, including the president.

[Bielko] Prime Minister, another hot issue this week was the state of alert declared by the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ]. What is your view on this step taken by the unions?

[Meciar] The state of alert is an internal trade union matter that has emerged at a time when the unions are developing a certain pattern for negotiations with other institutions. In my view, this measure is a needless show of muscle.

We have agreed with trade unionists that travel fares must change. We have negotiated the necessary compensation, but no agreement was reached—not because of lack of willingness on the part of the government, but because the demanded compensations were three times higher than compensations themselves [as heard].

We asked the unions to change their stance, but they did not do so. The government could not wait any longer and keep people in a situation they did not cause. The government therefore adopted a new measure according to which everybody whose monthly travel expense is over 200 korunas will be allocated compensation from the social fund set up by institutions and factories. This measure is retroactive and is valid as of 1 September [1995]. It is more advantageous than the solution proposed by the unions. [passage omitted]

[Bielko] There was unfavorable reaction to the government's approval of the bill on the state language. This reaction comes not only from the ranks of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, but also from Hungary, which managed to Hungaricize over 400,000 Slovaks over the past 50 years. You are due to meet Hungarian Prime Minister Horn and, according to some reports, will discuss this bill with him. Does it make any sense to talk about it at a time when the bill is already in our parliament?

[Bielko] First, it is necessary to understand the importance of a dialogue. I hold Prime Minister Horn in high esteem, both as a politician and as a person. He is a dignified partner who is capable of a sensible agreement. His vision of the world is much more constructive and open than that of many other Hungarian politicians. I gave Mr. Horn two promises during our talks: First, the bill [on the state language] will be consulted with Strasbourg prior to its approval by the government. This promise was fulfilled.

The second promise was that representatives of the Hungarian minority [in Slovakia] would be given a chance to adopt a stance on the bill prior to its approval by the government. This promise was met and they were given this opportunity.

What happened next? The [Hungarian] parties approach matters in a different way. Their representatives were invited to attend the meeting of the Government Council for Minorities. They arrived there; they said they were against the law. [as heard] They were asked to present their amendments, but they left the meeting. Those who remained presented their amendments and the government accepted them. The Hungarian representatives thus deprived themselves of the possibility to state their demands in a positive way.

It should be noted the the bill on the state language is a proposal to implement the [articles of the] Constitution of the Slovak Republic. There are similar laws in many other countries. This law will stipulate the conditions and usage of the Slovak language on the territory of Slovakia. This law does not stipulate the rights of minority languages. That is a matter for another law. These [minority language] rights are under no threat and the [present] bill [on the state language] does not touch them. [passage omitted]

[Bielko] Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], wrote in NARODNA OBRODA this week, I quote, If the government does not reassess its present way of ruling, it will cause severe damage to the long-term interests proclaimed in its manifesto. A question will arise, where does Slovakia really want to become integrated? [passage omitted]

[Meciar] I would not like to comment on statements made by a party chairman. Please do not take my words as a stance on statements made by Peter Weiss.

However, let me take a broader stance on these issues since similar views are also voiced by other people.

The government is an executive body and does what it is ordered to do by the law. If a particular law is bad, it has to be put to the Constitutional Court. Everybody respects the independent Constitutional Court, which rules against such poor law.

The government is an executive body which is making an effort to direct its activity in a positive way. With regards to structural economic changes, the change of structure is underway, and until now, no one abroad took the liberty to cast any doubts on this process. Why is this the case at home?

A very substantial change is underway in this transformation process, and that is our orientation toward growth. This change is such that it is being labeled as one of the best in postcommunist countries. Everyone throughout the world acknowledges this.

The transformation of the social system is in progress. It is being carried out at an acceptable level, and so far, progress is good. Criticism such as that you mentioned is thus groundless.

The East-West issue is a different matter. In this connection, statements made by Mr. Slota [chairman of the coalition Slovak National Party, SNS] or Mr. Luptak [chairman of the coalition Association of the Workers of Slovakia, ZRS] are often recalled, though neither of the authors is a government member. If the chairman of one party does not agree with chairmen of other parties, they should clarify their positions in a discussion or at news conferences, but they should not attack the government. For example, Mr. Kalman is a deputy prime minister and a member of the ZRS. He carries out his tasks and duties related to European integration in a very responsible way. The European Union considers the course of action taken in this integration process as good. The defense minister [Jan Sitek] is a ZRS member. If he fulfills his duties with respect to the Partnership for Peace program, and the U.S. secretary of defense says that the duties are carried out to a good standard, why does a chairman of a party in Slovakia claim the opposite? Considering all our pledges we can say that they are being met to a good standard.

The East-West issue is a question put wrongly. The government has its own manifesto policy, and the government is fulfilling it. This manifesto cannot be doubted.

It is necessary, however, to dwell in more detail on a particular structure of thinking which is typical for people who bowed before the East, and who now think that the world has made a turn, and therefore he or she should now bow before the West.

We are all interested—and the government is clear in declaring this—in becoming associated to these [as heard] countries in the interest of a new Europe. Europe, in which we will not be divided into two parts. Europe, in which we will be interlinked in different ways, but in a unified economic region and with a unified security system. [Words indistinct] with the system of political communication which, as the means of prevention, will make the prevention of conflicts possible. This is what we want. [passage omitted]

[Bielko] There are conflicting views on the possible customs union with Russia.

[Meciar] I asked Mr. Kozlik [minister of finance and deputy prime minister] on my arrival whether any statement regarding a customs union was made at the news conference he held in Moscow. I also asked those who were present at the news conference about this matter, as neither I nor Deputy Prime Minister Kozlik were authorized by the government to discuss the issue of customs union. I was told that no statement concerning the customs union was made at the news conference. This is an instance of an erroneous interpretation made by somebody, I do not know who.

As regards our trade with Russia, there are a few aspects to be taken into consideration.

Our cooperation with Russia does not create any new political or other association. It is merely bilateral cooperation, which is natural for all countries that cooperate or want to cooperate with Russia. Russia cannot be put in an international, economic and political isolation. Nobody wants to achieve that.

There is another question why Slovakia and me personally are taking steps to improve our position on this market. Slovakia has a negative balance of payments with Russia. We have to pay in dollars for what we cannot pay in goods. We have to earn those dollars somewhere else. If we improved the balance of payments, we would import more goods. [passage indistinct]

Third, Slovakia—whether we want it or not—is dependent on oil and gas supplies from Russia, as well as on its own power-generating facilities. This cannot be changed.

All these steps, as well as socioeconomic pressures within the country, force us to look everywhere to find markets for our goods. It is useless to see in this any attempts to avoid our pledges toward the European Union. Only malicious people can say such things but they are not true.

Views Russian, Turkmenistan Trips

LD0311235495 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The Slovak Government delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar returned yesterday from a four-day official visit to the Russian Federation and Turkmenistan. In an interview for Slovak television, the prime minister said that the meeting with the Russian prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, was one of the most important events of the visit, during which both sides confirmed that the development of mutual economic cooperation is inevitable.

The tangible results of the visit include an agreement on the strategy of the development of the gas industry and the setting up of a joint venture between the Russian Gazprom company and the Slovak Gas Industry state enterprise.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] Nuclear power stations constituted an important point of the deliberations, and I am glad to say that an agreement was reached. First, the project involving French, German and Russian participation in completing the Mochovce [nuclear] power station was fully accepted. By the way, the group set up for this purpose is likely to be of value in the case of other nuclear power stations, too.

An agreement on the issue of funding was reached as well—the Russian contribution will be $150 million, some of it payable by the end of this year, and some of it payable in fuel. It is important, too, that we agreed on the removal of spent fuel from the Slovak Republic. This includes the spent fuel that has been stored in Slovakia for some time, and we could not shift. From this point of view, therefore, we can describe the visit and the talks with the Russian prime minister as extremely successful. This time we really did manage to remove obstacles which had been paralyzing us for a long time.

[Unidentified correspondent] In the course of your talks with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, you also dealt with the issue of Slovakia's orientation vis-a-vis the Russian Federation and NATO. What stance did you convey to the Russian side?

[Meciar] It was an exchange of views. The Russian side does not believe that NATO should expand in central and eastern Europe. The Russians ask: Against whom? And why? On the other hand, we reiterated the program statement of our government and our vision regarding security in Europe. We said that there should be security for everyone and that the new integration should not be pointed against anybody, but that it should be based on the principle of cooperation between member countries as guarantors of a continental security system for all.

Naturally, this will have to be discussed again in the context of certain global agreements. Negotiations concerning such global agreements are already underway, albeit without Slovak participation, and it will be within the framework of these global talks that the issues regarding strategy toward central Europe will also be solved.

An approach reflecting the idea that Russia should be pushed is a mistaken approach. Such an approach is bound to generate a new geopolitical shift—a rapprochement between Russia on the one hand and China and the Arab countries on the other. This would lead to completely new, and incessantly developing, world arrangements, and to a new concentration of power. So we have to appreciate that while our specific problem is an important one, the problem of world peace is more important. [end recording]

[Announcer] Our delegation then left Russia for Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's first official trip to a Central Asian republic—Turkmenistan.

[Begin Meciar recording] From our point of view, the importance of this state lies in its economy. It has enormous deposits of gas, with Russian gas added, it has something like one half of the total world gas deposits. It has vast deposits of crude oil which is waiting to be exploited. It has vast deposits of salts, iodide and precious metals. The Turkmens now need to get all this to the surface and make use of it. Of course, such vast natural resources have stirred interest among investors in many countries, including the most developed ones. The United States has a considerable presence over there, while Turkey, Iran and others are active, too. Naturally, Russia has not vacated this region either.

Well, using the Moscow route, we used to supply the Soviet Union with goods that used to reach Turkmenistan as well. But our goods no longer reach the country, although we need the trade as much as they do. So we agreed on a realistic prospect for 1996, namely that mutual trade should reach 3.3 billion Slovak korunas. Of course, this preliminary prospect must still be elaborated in detail by both sides. We also agreed, and it was much welcome, on the participation of Slovak enterprises in capital investment in Turkmen companies. We further agreed on deliveries of technology for new enterprises and on our participation in the construction of such enterprises.

Moreover, we agreed on a new and important feature suggested by the Turkmen side, namely that the Slovak Republic should supply know-how for small and medium-sized enterprises. The Turkmens now wait for our bakers, bricklayers, tradesmen, and so on, who would open small shops; the government has set aside $10 million for this purpose. Therefore, in 1996 there will be great opportunities for our people with the technological know-how of small enterprises because we were given a priority treatment in Turkmenistan. It now depends on us how we utilize these opportunities. [end recording]

Comments on EU, Russia, NATO

LD0411000495 Bratislava VTV Television in Slovak 1900 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar arrived home yesterday from visits to Russia and Turkmenistan. The prime minister answered correspondents' questions. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Ivan Stulajter—caption reads Radio Free Europe] According to reports published in the Slovak press, you voiced your opinion against a new division of Europe, and you said that you were in favor of setting up a continental security system in Europe, one which would also include Russia. Could we interpret this as your agreement with the opinion expressed, for example, by Mikhail Gorbachev, that the present structure of NATO is an atavism?

[Meciar] I never said so. My definition must be quoted exactly as said. If you quote me, you cannot arrive at a similar conclusion.

[Stulajter] I based my conclusion on that press report.

[Meciar] The press too, if it is going to quote me, cannot arrive at such a conclusion. I said that we were trying to become NATO members, and in this respect, government policy has not changed. At the same time, I said that we would cooperate, as cooperating and member countries. It is necessary to build a unified system. We do not want two Europes. As for NATO, one of the possible variants of its development is that it may become an organization that will transform itself into such a system. However, this is an open issue for political scientists, and all those who are involved in these matters and share similar views. This is one of the alternative solutions. I am not the only person who thinks so, but I am the one who expresses this view openly. [end recording]

Government Officials on EU, U.S. Demarches

Deputy Prime Minister Kalman

AU0611152995 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Nov 95 p 2

[Article by TASR: "Jozef Kalman: Slovak Republic Meets Conditions for Entering the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The statements casting doubt on the Slovak Republic's orientation toward the EU that have surfaced in connection with the EU and U.S. Administration's demarches have been rebutted by Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman, who coordinates the process of the Slovak Republic's integration into the EU. Jozef Kalman's statement was provided to TASR by Eva Jonakova, his press secretary.

"I emphasize that the Government of the Slovak Republic is consistently implementing its policy statement in the sphere of foreign policy. This is borne out by institutional steps, on the basis of which specialized workplaces for European integration have been established at all central bodies of state administration. Individual integration steps by the Slovak Government are positively evaluated also by representatives of the missions of EU countries in the Slovak Republic with whom I have come into contact so far. I am, therefore, convinced that casting aspersions on the Slovak Republic's interest in joining the EU is rash, self-serving, and not based on the real facts," Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman wrote.

Foreign Minister Schenk

AU0311144595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 31 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "mim": "According to Minister Schenk, EU Concerns in the Case of Slovakia Are Unwarranted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"Other countries similar to us that are undergoing transformation are also having problems. The point is that, when such problems appear there, no one expresses doubts about the democratic system in that country and sees the democratic system as jeopardized. We believe that the concerns in the case of Slovakia are not warranted," Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk told a news conference (to which the SME correspondent was admitted this time) after his official visit to Poland and Denmark. Asked by SME whether this means that he considers the EU demarche unwarranted, he said: "I did not say that. I only want to repeat that, in some instances, Slovakia is approached differently than other countries." Minister Schenk, who did not want to tell reporters whether he considers the EU and U.S. demarches to be warranted, does not perceive Slovakia's problem as the relationship between two persons, the prime minister and the president. According to him, the country's problems clearly arise from the transformation process.

Asked by SME about his assessment of the statement by Slovak National Party Chairman Jan Slota, who labeled the U.S. demarche as interference in the internal affairs of Slovakia, Schenk said: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not here to comment on the statements of individual politicians."

Regarding the polemics over what sort of document the EU actually delivered to Slovakia, Minister Schenk raised the document in question and replied: "An aide-memoire. The official document delivered to the prime minister is called an aide-memoire. The contents of this aide-memoire are certain views or objections that the EU has to the present situation in Slovakia." He added that the contents of the aide-memoire are a demarche.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 31 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 350-word report by Leopold Moravcik on Schenk's news conference, which includes the following passage: "Asked by PRAVDA whether he sees a way out of the situation that has emerged in the wake of the demarches in increased diplomatic activity or in a change of the methods of government in Slovakia, the minister replied that it is necessary to pursue both paths. 'It is not within the power of Slovak diplomacy to achieve some kind of a breakthrough. Everyone must become involved in these concentrated efforts. I am not thinking just of the government, but also of parliament, political parties, including the opposition, and the president.'"]

Press Commentaries Evaluate, Criticize Demarches

AU0211153395 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Oct 95 p 4

[Commentary by Jan Zizka: "It Is Not Necessary To Be a Lapdog"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week's demarches from the European Union and the United States have confirmed that—without doubt—Slovakia has the worst reputation in the West of all the Visegrad Group countries. Of course. A reputation does not, however, have to give an exact picture of the real situation, and Prime Minister Meciar has an unequivocal right to his view that the criticism from Western states is unwarranted. The hysteria in assessing present-day Slovakia is certainly inappropriate, but, even so, it cannot be claimed that everything is in perfect order there.

At the moment, Slovakia is conforming with the basic rules of a pluralist democracy and Meciar's government evolved from regular elections. So, it is up to the governing parties to formulate the principles for economic or foreign policy. Foreign observers can hardly reproach Bratislava for anything in this regard—that is, in the last elections, the current cabinet gained the trust of a decisive number of Slovaks.

Of course, we cannot close our eyes if it does not take the minorities into consideration. In modern democracies, they are supposed to have an opportunity to have their say. At the same time, the issue does not just involve the ethnic minorities, but also the minority opinions that offer an alternative to today's governing policy. It is also impossible to overlook the fact that the opposition press is not exactly lying on a bed of roses, that the government is trying to exercise its power-wielding influence in privatization and in the security bodies more than it should, and that the president's son travels across state borders under mysterious circumstances in a car trunk.

All of this does not mean that Slovakia would have to become a sort of lapdog of the West. This has also been rejected resolutely by Jozef Prokes, a leader of the Slovak National Party. If Slovakia decides to balance its endeavor for admission into Western organizations with good relations with the East, this is its legitimate choice. Understandably, because of Slovakia's geographic position, Slovaks see more clearly than Czechs the need for equilibrium between the country's western and eastern orientation. For economic and security reasons, Bratislava simply cannot forget the region of the former Soviet Union, especially when its expectations of rapid admission into the European Union and NATO are not too great. Even the demarches from Western states should not be demonized. Democracy in the countries that are now raising an admonitory finger also has a number of scars from the past, even the quite recent past.

The Slovak situation calls for thought, but not because the Americans or western Europeans say so. The tension between the Slovak Government and opposition is too great, and gentlemanly conduct between democratic rivals is waning away. This does not bode well for Slovakia's calm development.

'Intimidation' From Abroad

AU0311120395 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 31 Oct 95 p 1

[Editorial by Jozef Salaj in the "Public Matter" column]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "hot autumn," so eagerly awaited by the opposition, has finally arrived.... However, it has not been brought about by the government coalition, as foreseen in the original scenario of all its foes, but by heaps of mendacious slanders and disinformation campaigns against Slovakia at home and abroad. The abuse of the affair regarding the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. as the main trump card in supporting the president's martyrdom in the struggle against antidemocratic and nationalist forces and the distasteful spreading of unverified reports and facts regarding the same case have sown in the democratic world seeds of distrust in our young state and the present government team.

Right after the lost elections, representatives of the present opposition and political down-and-outs from the former Public Against Violence movement, whom the Christian Democratic Movement took under its protective wing, passed themselves off as the sole representatives of democracy and Slovak intellectuals. At the same time, they are hiding behind the biggest democrat of all—our head of state.... They do not recognize anyone, only their own truths, and if someone admits that he supports the present government, he stops being a partner for them and any political debate is out of the question. Because hardly anyone at home takes their words seriously, they have resorted to seeking help in intimidation from beyond the borders by means of carefully prepared pieces of disinformation and, most recently, also Western politicians' "demarches." Paradoxically, similar warning "concerns" in the form of open letters were experienced by us in 1968. At that time, they came from the Moscow Kremlin, now they are coming from the opposite direction....

That which President Michal Kovac's first visit to the United States [in August 1995] only hinted at, has now been confirmed in the form of an official warning from Bill Clinton. There surely exists some way of calming passions and mutual slanders, in the spirit of constitutional principles, of course. On no account shall we give the green light to anarchy and destructive demagogy in the spirit of the events of March 1994 [when parliament passed a vote of no-confidence in Meciar's government]. The overwhelming majority of us definitely do not wish a new political crisis.

Impact on Foreign Policy Viewed

AU0311144995 Bratislava SME in Slovak 31 Oct 95 p 4

[Commentary by Alena Gottweisova: "Demarches and Union"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "friendly expressions of interest" in the form of demarches appear to fail to have any effect. Government coalition representatives speak about them as a consequence of the failure to comprehend our situation or as a result of the work of the opposition. The more extreme among them are unfolding theories about a conspiracy against Slovakia. From here, there is only one step to the question: Why are we pushing so hard to join a community of countries that hate us? Should we not turn to that side where we will be welcomed with open arms?

It seems that the time is not far away when someone from the ranks of the main ruling movement will also publicly and officially raise this question. Some kind of a first swallow was the surprising (even for his Russian partners) proposal by Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik to establish a "common trade-economic zone" that might even evolve into a customs union. It needs to be pointed out that the Russian Federation is a partner with which the Slovak Republic has an exceptionally negative balance of trade. The volume of imports from Russia, which comprise mostly raw materials, oil and gas, exceeded the sum of 31.2 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] in the first nine months of the year, while Slovak exports to that country totalled only Sk6.5 billion. At the same time, we are vitally dependent on Russia for oil and gas imports. It is difficult to imagine that "closer trade cooperation" would not be connected with closer political ties as well. Regarding this, it is not irrelevant that the Slovak Republic has not managed to attract sufficient interest of Western investors—also because of the newly passed economic legislation, which is considerably below the standards of the EU countries' legislation.

The time factor may not be insignificant either. The government said that it would deal with the EU and U.S. demarches seriously. Its talks on such a serious matter are unthinkable without the prime minister's presence. Therefore, they will take place only after his return from the Russian Federation. The sentence "when they will reject us in the West, we will turn eastward" has already once come out of Vladimir Meciar's mouth, as did the assertion that there is no need to worry about demarches because, owing to our strategic position, they all want and need us.

As the Russians say, we will live to see.

Foreign Affairs Spokesman on Ties to Russia

AU0411141995 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Oct 95 p 13

[Statement by Juraj Matejovsky, spokesman for the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs; place and date not given: "Indispensability of Cooperation With the Russian Federation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak-Russian bilateral relations are a rewarding theme for various commentators at home and abroad writing on the foreign political orientation of Slovakia. Part and parcel of this orientation is the Slovak Republic's integration into European and transatlantic political, economic, and security structures as a priority issue. Specific steps being taken to improve Slovak-Russian relations are sometimes being contrasted with that foreign political priority, thus casting aspersions on it. This approach not only is not founded on factual arguments, but signals the intention to divert attention from the gist of the matter and to misinterpret Slovak-Russian relations by foisting upon them ideological elements.

Slovakia always belonged, belongs, and will belong to the same model of civilization as the other West European and Central European countries. Questions concerning entry into the EU and NATO were unequivocally laid down in the government program and numerous specific steps by the Slovak Government bear out that these are not just verbal declarations but that the government has an eminent interest in the attainment of the set target.

Another priority of our foreign policy, however, is boosting its economic dimension. This applies to all countries, including Russia.

There are a number of vitally important reasons for intensive economic relations with Russia, particularly the fact that Slovakia is the country of transit for virtually the entire volume of crude oil and gas that Russia supplies to the West, and Slovakia's relatively high irrecoverable claims [in Russia].

But even when we leave all this aside, it is necessary to point out that, even today, there is strong competition for the Russian market, in which Western countries are greatly interested. In its bid to establish itself on the Russian market, Slovakia can bank on its own experience, which gives it a certain comparative advantage. There is no reason for Slovakia not to make use of this advantage for the benefit of its economy. Failing to do so would even be unreasonable. It goes without saying that this economic cooperation does not entail any political commitments vis-a-vis the Russian Federation.

Cooperation with the Russian Federation is significant also from the viewpoint of stability in Europe, which is indispensable. It is not in the interest of Slovakia to have a new division of Europe emerge in the process of the integration of individual states into the EU and NATO. Mutual contacts at the level of governments, parliaments, and presidents are therefore fully warranted and also the current visit to Moscow by a Slovak Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar must be seen in that light.

Relations between the Slovak Republic and the Russian Federation are balanced. They concern areas that were chosen in harmony with the interests of the Slovak Republic and should be further expanded in this spirit. The Slovak side's approach to Russia could be termed realistic and pragmatic.

Further Developments in Kovac Kidnapping Case

Victim Denies Staging Kidnapping

AU0211144995 Bratislava SME in Slovak 27 Oct 95 p 4

[Interview with Michal Kovac Jr., son of Slovak President Michal Kovac, by Peter Toth in Vienna; date not given: "President's Son Claims That Chilo-Ptak Was a Decoy"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The daily SME published an interview with a former Slovak Information Service [SIS] member in which he admitted having taken part in shadowing the Slovak president's son and in his abduction. In response to this interview, two letters have appeared in which their author, Branislav Chilo-Ptak, claims that Michal Kovac Jr. had organized the abduction himself. Regarding this, we visited Michal Kovac Jr. in Vienna and asked him a few questions.

[Toth] Did you read the former SIS member's testimony?

[Kovac] I did. I can confirm all the circumstances about which this gentleman spoke, including the circumstances of the visits to my daughter's and my wife's schools. From my point of view, his testimony is truthful. What I find startling is how the overseeing prosecutor could drop the charges brought against him [by Peter Vacok, since dismissed as investigator of the case], given the fact that he himself confessed to having shadowed me and to having created a "smokescreen" during my abduction. This is rather unusual. [passage omitted]

[Toth] Two letters from Branislav Chilo-Ptak have surfaced in Slovakia, claiming that you had organized the kidnapping yourself and that you had also engaged him in this operation....

[Kovac] The whole thing is ridiculous. That man visited me at home two days before the kidnapping. Before that, on 24 August, he left a letter in my mailbox, in which he wrote that he wanted to settle some debts with us. He came to see me because, supposedly, he had to meet me urgently. First, he proposed that we meet in Hainburg [town in Austria near the Slovak border]. When I refused, he suggested that we meet in some cafe outside. When I analyze this visit in retrospect, it is evident that he was a decoy [volavka]. Certain people apparently promised to erase his criminal record when he had fulfilled his task. That is the only possible explanation.

[Toth] So you are convinced that Branislav Chilo-Ptak was assigned the task of luring you out of the house to facilitate your abduction?

[Kovac] That is 100-percent certain. I am convinced of that. When Branislav Chilo-Ptak came to see me, he claimed that he now had a new identity and that his present name was Peter Stracek or Stracak. I do not remember the name exactly. He said that he bought his new identity papers in Germany for 10,000 German marks. I found this, too, very suspicious. I told him then to give me a call after 4 September when my lawyer was to return from vacation. Had I not been kidnapped, my first proposal would have been to report this to the police.

[Toth] What kind of contacts with Chilo-Ptak did you maintain in the past?

[Kovac] I saw him about twice. He came to my office, saying that he could arrange some deal with scrap metal. We never came to any agreement, however, and I never even spoke to him at length. I knew even then that he was the cousin of Peter Krylov [on the basis of whose testimony the German authorities issued a warrant for the arrest of Michal Kovac Jr.], but I did not take any interest in that. I was only surprised when, two years later, he appeared in my house. He could not have known where I live because, two years ago, I lived at Dubravka. He must have had good information from somewhere.

[Toth] The progovernment propaganda and Chilo-Ptak himself suggest that, together, you frequented erotic massage parlors or, in other words, brothels.

[Kovac] All this pursues a single goal: To discredit me and, through me, the president. The daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA has been fulfilling this purpose, attacking the president and his family, for almost two years. I think that what SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA writes need not be taken seriously. [passage omitted]

[Toth] Krylov confessed his part in the fraud involving the Technopol company only after he was convicted on charges of the illegal possession of arms. What do you think about the fact that it was only after several months in prison that he remembered your name in connection with the Technopol affair?

[Kovac] Krylov was arrested in 1992. He spent two years in custody. It was not until October 1994 that he made the testimony, in which he mentioned three names, including mine. [passage omitted] His motives could have been twofold. The first is that he wanted to cover up his own participation in that fraud. The other motive, which I find more plausible, is that he was forced to make such a testimony. Meciar's right hand, Mrs. Anna Nagyova, spent two weeks in Munich at the time of Krylov's testimony, in October 1994. [passage omitted]

[Toth] Your father, the Slovak president, has voiced the conviction that secret service director Ivan Lexa and the SIS participated in your abduction. Do you share your father's view?

[Kovac] Judging from what I have learned from the press and from my lawyer, who had a chance to look into the investigation file, I can only agree with my father's conviction.

[Toth] In his open letter addressed to the president, Ivan Lexa rejected his and the SIS's participation in the kidnapping and said that the SIS was interested in clarifying the circumstances of the issuance of the international warrant for your arrest....

[Kovac] [passage omitted] If Mr. Lexa is interested in the clarification of this case, let him relieve himself of his vow of silence, let him permit police bodies to enter SIS facilities, and let him relieve the suspects who are his employees of their vow of silence. And if the SIS is interested in the clarification of the circumstances regarding the case of Technopol, in that case, Mr. Lexa probably does not know the law on the secret service. This matter is being investigated by independent bodies in Slovakia and by independent bodies in the FRG.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 30 October on page 4 carries a 100-word report on a statement issued by the Information Department of the Slovak Government Office, according to which Anna Nagyova, director of the Prime Minister's Office, "vigorously protests" Michal Kovac Jr.'s claim, published in the 27 October issue of SME, that "establishes a connection" between Peter Krylov's testimony and her "two-week stay in Munich in October 1994."]

SIS Allegedly Met Witness

AU0611144795 Bratislava SME in Slovak 2 Nov 95 p 1

[Article by "pt": "High-Ranking SIS Employee Allegedly Seen in Branislav Chilo-Ptak's Company"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The SME editorial office avails itself of the testimonies of eyewitnesses, according to whom Jaroslav S., a high-ranking official of the Slovak Information Service [SIS] Second Administration (counterintelligence), met Branislav Chilo-Ptak at 1 Zamocnicka Street and at 5 Hranicna Street in Bratislava two weeks before the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. abroad. Chilo-Ptak is the author of letters sent to an unnamed Slovak minister some time ago, in which he accuses Michal Kovac Jr. of having himself organized his abduction. According to the president's son, Branislav Chilo-Ptak was deployed against him as a decoy in order to lure him out of his house to facilitate the realization of the abduction.

Investigator on Libel Charges

AU0411143395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Oct 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by "ms": "Third Charge Against Investigator Vacok Filed; Plaintiff Is Prime Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Major Peter Vacok, the second investigator to be dismissed in the case of the abduction of the Slovak president's son, was interrogated yesterday by an inspector from the Inspection Authority in the Slovak Interior Ministry. The interrogation was prompted by the Slovak prime minister's complaint, addressed on 16 October to Slovak Prosecutor General Michal Valo, concerning Peter Vacok's statements in the media that "the prime minister is interfering in the activity of bodies that are active in criminal proceedings."

"I am not aware of any libelous remarks. My activity centered on something else, and I did not engage in it with the aim of harming the prime minister or the government," Peter Vacok told a PRAVDA correspondent yesterday. Asked when he was supposed to have committed the alleged criminal act of libel, Peter Vacok replied: "Once journalists asked me to comment on Mr. Meciar's alleged statement at a rally in Banska Bystrica. He supposedly said at that rally that we were inciting nine people to give false testimony. I replied that, personally, I am not aware of any such statement. I explained to them that, in relation to criminal proceedings, and also in relation to this specific case, the prime minister is an ordinary citizen and that, had he made that statement—I emphasize, had he made that statement—it would have been irresponsible of him and it would be possible to qualify it as interference in the powers of bodies that are active in criminal proceedings."

Investigator Vacok claims that he explained the matter so as not to look like someone who incites people to give false testimony. He is sorry that the prime minister sees it as possible criminal offense on his, Vacok's, part. "I definitely did not intend to harm him or to threaten him. I am somewhat disappointed that the prime minister interprets my activity differently," Peter Vacok noted. As he went on to say, the inspector from the police Inspection Authority presented to him yesterday an article from the daily SME, on which the complaint is supposedly based.

"This is the third charge that has been brought against me," the investigator stated. "Two were filed by Mr. Lexa: One of them is being investigated by the Police Inspection Authority. Because of the other one, I have been summoned to the Municipal Prosecutor's Office in Bratislava for further interrogation. The third charge is from the prime minister and is also being investigated by the Inspection Authority."

Asked in conclusion by PRAVDA what he thinks about all this, Major Peter Vacok replied: "I take it almost like a travesty. It is just absurd."

Parties Discuss Kovac's 2 Nov Statement

LD0311185895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The majority of Slovak Parliament parties today reacted to yesterday's address by Slovak President Michal Kovac.

The Slovak National Party [SNS] said that the address by Michal Kovac was his typical speech, in which, instead of condemning foreign countries' intervention in Slovak internal matters, he trampled on the sovereignty of his own country and cast doubt on the result of democratic parliamentary elections. SNS Chairman Jan Slota confirmed the party's determination to push through in parliament the setting up of a commission to study the possibility of charging the president with high treason.

The presidium of the Central Committee of the Association of Workers of Slovakia listened to the president's address with sadness. Their statement describes his address as the expression of the fact that Kovac is acting in unison with the opposition.

The Farmers Party of Slovakia said that President Kovac's address fully revealed how subjective he was in his defense of democracy in Slovakia and made clear the analogy with his parliament speech in March of last year.

The opposition Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] considers the president's address to be an important step in the critical moment when the political struggle launched by the government coalition parties against the president was coming to a head. The KDH fully supports the president.

The Democratic Union praises the fact that Kovac expressed the truth about Slovakia's problems, and, in their view, his attitude represents an appeal to all democrats.

The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement described yesterday's address by President Kovac as wise, statesmanlike, and truthful. In their view, the prime minister and the government coalition should reassess their current policy on the basis of his address.

Full Membership in Liberal International for MPP

LD0411222095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Hungarian Civic Party is the first [ethnic] Hungarian party in Slovakia to become a full member of the Liberal International. Ildiko Nagy reports from Bratislava [Pozsony]:

[Nagy] The Liberal International executive committee, currently in session in Opatija [Croatia], has upgraded the Hungarian Civic Party of Slovakia [MPP] from observer to full member. MPP has become the first political party representing Slovakia in the 84-member international organization. Coexistence, and Moravcik's Democratic Union hold the status of observer. [passage omitted]

Kovacs on Continuity of Israeli-Hungarian Ties

LD0511193295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Thousands are queueing in front of the Knesset building to mourn for Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, who was murdered last night. [passage omitted] Miklos Meroe reports from Israel.

[Begin Meroe recording] Nobody would have thought that so many people would take the trouble to travel to Jerusalem from the remotest part of the country to express condolences for the former prime minister, army commander, and politician, a high-ranking Israeli police officer said. Three thousand policemen have been maintaining order in the mourning city. Traffic on the main roads of Jerusalem has been stopped, only buses carrying the mourning crowd are running.

Cancelling his official visit to Israel, Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is only preparing for the funeral service, which also will be attended by Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn, as already been reported by Israeli radio. [passage omitted]

According to the Hungarian foreign minister, Rabin's assassination may halt the peace process for a transition period, but it cannot stop it in the long term.

Asked whether the Hungarian-Israeli talks will continue, where they were interrupted by the assassination, if the opposition wins and forms a government after the elections due in three months time, the foreign minister answered:

When we started to rebuild our diplomatic relations in 1987, there was a broad coalition government in Israel and socialism was being built in Hungary. In 1989, under the Likud Party's government, the Antall government established a diplomatic mission in Tel Aviv, and now, when we have already established diplomatic relations at the ambassador level, a coalition government led by the Hungarian Socialist Party is holding talks with Israel.

Hungary has always been, and will always hold talks with the official government of the time, independently from the question of which party formed it, Kovacs said. [end recording]

Horn Hopes for Continuation of Peace Process

LD0511195195 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn hopes that the Middle East peace process will not be halted as a result of Yitzhaq Rabin's death. Gyula Horn gave an exclusive interview to Newsreel one day before his departure for Israel.

[Begin recording] [Horn] One of the greatest statesmen has become a victim of an assassination. He had made a decision on a step which changed the direction of history, for there has been no figure who wanted to have reconciliation with the Arabs in such a comprehensive way, as Rabin, the deceased prime minister of the Jewish state, has done.

In addition to this, we have had a very good personal relationship, we have met and exchanged letters and telephone conversations on several occasions. He has given a lot of support to Hungary.

[Reporter] Do you worry about the possibility of the emergence of crisis situations in the political life of the world after Rabin's death?

[Horn] I hope that the party and government there will recover from this very serious loss and the peace process will continue. [end recording]

Officials Discuss Romanian Reconciliation Offer

LD0311211495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian and the Romanian state secretaries of foreign affairs [Ferenc Somogyi and Marcel Dinu] have agreed that the Romanian president's reconciliation proposal cannot substitute the basic treaty. However, apart from the basic treaty, three political statements will also begin to be drafted early next year. Margit Reti reports on the meeting between Ferenc Somogyi and Marcel Dinu in Budapest.

[Reti] Reconciliation between the Romanian majority and the Hungarian [ethnic] minority is one of the basic conditions of a historic bilateral reconciliation, State Secretary Somogyi stressed. The so-called Code of Behavior, which was proposed by the Romanian president to regulate relations between the state and the minorities, must, by all means, be given legal context, he added.

The Romanian partner agreed with this. State Secretary Dinu emphasized: Romania wants to draft both the basic treaty and the reconciliation agreement on the basis of the effective European norms by all means. However, it is too early to say in what form and in which document the frequently mentioned 1201 CE Recommendation would be included, the Romanian state secretary of foreign affairs added.

They also agreed that parallel with the preparation of documents, historic reconciliation must also be facilitated by other concrete steps.

Horn: Trade Unions' Demands 'Unrealistic'

LD0311204095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government will not give in to the wave of strikes because the fulfillment of unrealistic demands would mean the end of the stabilization program, Prime Minister Gyula Horn said at a meeting with inhabitants of Szekszard. He also said the government is ready for a dialogue with the trade unions, but it must be understood that the state cannot and will not satisfy their demands. There is only one thing the government can promise: The situation facing civil employees next year will not deteriorate to a significant extent. More than this cannot be achieved with strikes, the prime minister said.

GKI, Postabank Present Economic Prognosis

AU0311100795 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Nov 95 p 12

[Unattributed report on economic prognosis carried out by the Economic Research Corporation and the Postabank: "Smaller Deficit at the Expense of Higher Inflation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The internal and external balance of the Hungarian economy has been definitely improving since the middle of this year: The trade balance and the balance of payments, as well as the monthly budget deficit, decreased rapidly. However, the price for this decreasing deficit is a much faster inflation, a considerable decrease in the population's real income, and a slowing down of economic growth. There has been no genuine progress so far in modernizing the economy and modernizing its structure; stabilization is primarily due to the drop in domestic consumption. All this appears in the economic prognosis issued by the Economic Research Corporation [GKI] and the Postabank.

The monthly deficit of both the trade balance and the balance of payments was the highest in March this year: $540 million and $720 million respectively. As a result of the export incentives, as well as demand and import reducing measures, the foreign trade deficit was only $148 million in August 1995, and the balance of payments was actually without deficit in July. The volume of imports will probably continue to decrease in the last quarter of 1995, and the increase in exports will probably continue or even accelerate, so the annual trade deficit will not exceed $3 billion, and the deficit in the balance of payments will probably be smaller than that. This is a serious improvement compared to 1994, and it will most probably be sufficient to preserve Hungary's creditability.

The quarterly budget deficit also decreased constantly. A total 216 billion forint [Ft] deficit accumulated from the beginning of this year until September 1995. However, in the fourth quarter, the increase in the budget deficit will probably accelerate (because of the high interest payments and the lack of privatization incomes), so we can forecast a Ft280 billion deficit for the whole of 1995, a figure that exceeds the stipulated deficit by Ft120 billion. Savings by the population almost cover the central budget deficit. The drop in the interests of state bonds started in the middle of this year and will probably continue.

As a result of stabilization measures, inflation will first accelerate and then will begin to slow down, primarily because of a drop in demand. The slow increase in the rate of inflation came to a sudden halt in September because of the increase in energy prices (the monthly increase in consumer prices was 2 percent), but this will probably continue in the last quarter of 1995. So, on the overall yearly level, the increase in consumer prices will be around 28 percent. The net average salaries will increase by 14 percent this year, so their real value will drop by 11 percent. Population consumption will decrease considerably, and savings will also decrease.

Economic growth will continue mainly in areas connected with exports (industry, some services), but it will slow considerably in areas connected with domestic consumption (like the building industry), or will recede (in trade and public services).

Daily Assesses State Delegation to Dayton Talks

AU0511212695 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 95 p 1

[Commentary by Zija Dizdarevic: "Delegation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The delegation of the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities to the peace negotiations in the United States headed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been determined. It also includes Presidency Member Ivo Komsic; Federation President Kresimir Zubak; Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic; and Jadranko Prlic, deputy prime minister and defense minister.

The delegation includes the leading people of the key state institutions. All important aspects of power in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been represented. It is particularly significant that the president of the Federation is included in the joint delegation.

In view of the situation, the ethnic composition of the negotiating team is to be noted. The team includes three Bosniaks, three Croats, and one Serb. Therefore, the parity principle that applies to the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was not used. The prevailing criterion was the one used for the Federation.

The core of the delegation is composed of Izetbegovic, Silajdzic, and Sacirbegovic, due to the positions they have in the state hierarchy. Their political views do not always follow the same direction. However, there is no doubt that their approach at the negotiations will be consistent. It should be remembered that Izetbegovic's negotiating platform has been supported by the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] Executive Committee. Izetbegovic is doubtlessly a party and state authority.

Zubak and Prlic are also inevitably representatives of the policy of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and its leader Franjo Tudjman. Therefore, Zubak's and Prlic's main task is the battle for Pan-Croat interests.

Komsic has a special position. As the head of the Croatian National Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he represents the most serious Croatian opponent of the HDZ policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He is the ideological creator of the Federation and advocates a complete and sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, Komsic can help in the event of any misunderstanding along the Bosniak-Croatian line.

Lazovic also plays a triple role. In addition to being the chairman of the republican assembly, he belongs to the leaderships of the Social Democratic Party and the Serbian Civic Council. He and Komsic share the view that the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina should be established on the federal principle and not on the basis of entities. Specifically, that is the stand advocated by the Social Democratic Party, the Serbian Civic Council, the Croatian Peasant Party, and the Croatian National Council.

Thus, the Serbian Civic Council will be indirectly represented at the negotiations. This time, however, the delegation does not include Presidency Member Mirko Pejanovic, who is also the Serbian Civic Council leader. This is an intriguing fact. The question is whether Pejanovic's absence is a result of internal calculations, that is, evaluations, or external pressure.

All in all, the official Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation clearly reflects political reality. Reality cannot be avoided. The road to peace is difficult, but not to any peace in any Bosnia-Herzegovina. The goal is peace in the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sacirbegovic Comments on Ohio Talks, U.S. Role

BR0311145395 Madrid ABC in Spanish 3 Nov 95 p 38

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Branimir Baron Brijevic in Zagreb; date not given: "Sacirbegovic: 'Dayton Will Already Be a Success If the Three Parties End Up Equally Dissatisfied'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, his country's former ambassador to the United Nations, is one of the key figures in the peace talks under way at the military base in Ohio. Educated in Turkey, Libya, and the United States, Sacirbegovic holds a law degree and a degree from Harvard Business School. Sacirbegovic is one of the Bosnian politicians in whom Bosnian President Izetbegovic has the most confidence.*

His statements to ABC were made at the Zagreb airport just before he left together with Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic and Izetbegovic for the peace conference in Dayton, Ohio.

[Brijevic] What do you hope for from the peace talks?

[Sacirbegovic] A clear and fair solution—now inevitable—to all the problems in the former Yugoslavia. The Americans always need to present themselves as the defenders of morality. This time I hope that they are well informed. They have taken plenty of time to learn the lesson and to find out who is responsible for the aggression and the war in the Balkans. Now that the elections are drawing near, the

Americans want to find a solution, and I think that it will be found. The questions is whether it will be a fair one.

[Brijevic] Will none of the three presidents be able to leave Dayton before a solution is found which satisfies all three parties in the conflict?

[Sacirbegovic] That is true, but we cannot count on everyone being satisfied. It would be already be a success if everyone were equally dissatisfied. In my opinion, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has lost nothing in Dayton. How can one negotiate with a war criminal? What can you negotiate with him? In the days prior to the fall of Srebrenica, an area under UN protection, the Serbian president knowingly used the Yugoslav Army to support the Bosnian Serbs. At the very least, he knew that the regular Army units of what remains of Yugoslavia were supporting the Bosnian Serbs in the conquest of Srebrenica.

[Brijevic] Are you not looking for the guilty party on the wrong side? Is it not the international community that is more to blame in the fall of Srebrenica and the ensuing killings?

[Sacirbegovic] It is clear on what side the guilty is: on the side of the Bosnian Serbs. But the Army of what remains of Yugoslavia supported them in the conquest of Srebrenica, even though it had previously undertaken not to do so. Do no forget that they killed at least 6,000 people in Konjevic Pole. At the UN refugee camp in Potocari, they even separated out boys who were 12 years old. According to Ratko Mladic these boys were men fit to fight within a couple of years. There is no doubt that this is a shame for the entire world. And we know who the international community is: the five major powers who make the decisions on the Security Council.

Chirac

[Brijevic] Have there not been any changes in this respect? Here I am talking about Jacques Chirac's election in France.

[Sacirbegovic] Of course that has meant a change. Chirac is a historic phenomenon, a person of character in world politics. We can only welcome the fact that he has come to power and understood the entire problem and our situation. We hope that this will be followed up by action.

[Brijevic] How do you explain the United States' need to make morality prevail in Ohio?

[Sacirbegovic] How? I ask myself the same question. People are trying to clear their conscience. U.S. policy has been bizarre on occasion. On the one hand it tried to stop the war before, but at the same time it made efforts to stretch it out.

Mostar Shows Potential Problems for Peace Deal

AU0511141495 Paris AFP in English
1115 GMT 5 Nov 95

[By Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Nov 5 (AFP)—Frustrated European Union administrators seeking to reunite this divided town in southern Bosnia have recently come close to giving up but their experience illustrates what lies ahead for any overall peace settlement in Bosnia now being discussed in Dayton, Ohio.

US and European peace negotiators currently trying to work out a peace settlement in Dayton, Ohio, need look no further than Mostar to see how an earlier American peace iniative has made little progress once the fighting stopped and the time arrived to implement an accord.

Divided in a year of fighting between Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Moslems, the city of Mostar has been under European Union administration since July last year. During that period, despite an end to the bitter fighting, little progress has been made towards reuniting the two sides of the city.

"It's almost like Berlin without the wall," said EU Administration spokesman, Dragan Gasic.

West Mostar is controlled by hardline Bosnian Croats. In 1993, Bosnian Croat militia expelled thousands of Moslems across the river Neretva running through the city into the old eastern part of Mostar.

At the same time they pummelled the old town in the east with artillery and tanks. Hundreds died. East Mostar survived but remains cut off from the rest of Mostar. The problem today though is not a frontline, but Bosnian Croat obstruction.

The Bosnian Croat leadership in west Mostar, backed by neighbouring Croatia, is frustrating all efforts to reunite the two sides. Most noticeably they refuse to allow all but a handful of women and children to cross into the west half of Mostar each day.

Draft age men are barred and though some professions, including journalists and doctors, have special passes they too are often prevented from entering the west, even to visit the EU headquarters based in the Croat held sector.

"The Moslems have been living in more or less a ghetto for two and a half years. This is creating a very heavy atmosphere," Gasic said.

Bosnian Croat leaders do not disguise their wish to see the city remain divided. "I am totally against the reunification of the town. If the town is unified the same problems will erupt again. We want two municipalities with two peoples living here," said Jadran Topic, chief of the powerful HDZ party which is sponsored by Zagreb.

Bosnian Croat obstructions have also prevented progress in a host of other areas such as joint policing and the return of Moslem refugees to their homes.

This, said Deputy EU administrator Klaus Metscher, bodes ill for the city and the Croat-Moslem federation of which Mostar is a key part.

"The cornerstone of the federation is Mostar. It is the basis of the Dayton talks. It's part of the American proposal which assumes that there is an entity called the federation but it is still a very fragile entity. If the federation crumbles, the whole peace plan will crumble," said Metscher.

The basis for the Dayton peace talks is a plan dividing Bosnia roughly equally between the Croat-Moslem federation and a Bosnian Serb republic linked by a weak central government.

In Ohio, how this division might work is the focus of the talks with the leaderships of Bosnia, Croatia and Serb-led Yugoslavia, the main players in the conflict. In particular, the talks will address the return of displaced people to their homes, elections for the whole country and improving freedom of movement.

All these issues were spelled out in an agreement between the Croats and Moslems for Mostar. Only accords on reconstructing the city's shell damaged buildings and infrastructure, paid for by the EU has made progress.

"The two parties agree to all types of intentions but don't do enough to make them work," Metscher explained.

Frustrated at the lack of progress, Mostar's EU administator Hans Koschnik recently threatened to resign unless more diplomatic pressure was applied to the parties to make them cooperate.

A provisional deadline of December 10 has been set to frame an agreement for a federal central power and the dissolution of the Bosnian Croats separatist administration, Herceg-Bosna.

"Everybody has serious doubts that this will work," Metcher warned.

Ganic Explains NATO Role If Agreement Signed

LD0411204495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] A contigent of 60,000 NATO soldiers will be deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina after a peace agreement is signed. The force will consist of three divisions—French, British, and American, Dr. Ejup Ganic, a Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency member and the federation vice president, told Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television journalists. Ganic, on behalf of President Izetbegovic, held talks in Split yesterday with NATO generals, including Lieutenant Colonel Carter Williams, commander of NATO forces in southern Europe. Generals Vahib Karavelic and Tihomir Blaskic took part in the talks. Velida Kulenovic reports:

[Kulenovic] Since our delegation was late for talks in Brussels, it was decided it would have talks with a number of NATO generals in Split. General Leighton-Smith, NATO [words indistinct] commander, will be in charge of the entire operation, while British General [name indistinct] will be in charge of land troops. Here is what Dr. Ganic said about the NATO deployment:

[Begin Ganic recording] The forces will be divided into three divisions. The first will be dominated by French forces, which will land in the port of Ploce. They will use Ploce partly as their logistics base, and also as a doorway to Bosnia. This division, which will be dominated by French forces, will include troops from other countries, and will have its headquarters in Mostar. It will be partly in charge of the eastern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The second division, dominated by British troops, will come to Bosnia via Split. It will use the port of Split to disembark, and partially for its logistic center. This division—the second division—will have its headquarters in Gornji Vakuf. It will be responsible for the western part of our state.

The northern part of the state will be covered by the third division, dominated by U.S. troops. They will arrive by train from the FRG. They are U.S. troops that are stationed within NATO forces in Germany. They will be transported by rail via Hungary and Croatia to the northern part of Bosnia—Herzegovina. Their headquarters will be in Tuzla. However, NATO command will be in Sarajevo. Naturally, some premises now held by the United Nations in Zagreb, and some other premises, will be used for logistic. As you know, they will have to be adapted. This is the approximate plan.

These forces will have air and land support. Air space above Bosnia-Herzegovina will also be protected by NATO. In 10 days' time, or even earlier, a team of experts will arrive to start reconstruction work at our airports. In effect, they will carry out preparations for the implementation [of the agreement] following the signing. Sarajevo airport will be the first to be completely reconstructed. It is already operational, but it will be enlarged, and some additional facilities are necessary. Then airports in Tuzla, Bihac, and Mostar will be repaired. However, Tuzla and Sarajevo airports are a priority.

On the other hand, the existent UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina will withdraw. Part of these forces will be transformed into NATO forces; they will stay here to discharge their duties within the NATO mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

[Kulenovic] The current UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] troops will withdraw with a part of the forces being transformed, including the rapid reaction force, which will join NATO troops. The same principle will be applied to countries that are not NATO members. Asked if Russian troops will be included in keeping peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ganic said:

[Begin Ganic recording] Russian troops and troops from some Islamic countries that are already deployed here as UNPROFOR forces, and which will remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be exclusively under UNPROFOR command. Recently you heard of an agreement between two ministers, the Russian and U.S. ministers of defense, that the Russian contingent could be in some sort of sapper division, which would not have combat tasks, but would be tasked with road maintenance, for instance. But if they are combat troops they have to be under NATO command. [end recording]

[Kulenovic] It was stressed at the talks that one of NATO's tasks is also to protect the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Cooperation with NATO is already in progress. The implementation will take shape in the offer of adequate accommodation facilities, and our industries and businesses joining this very serious job, which should be carried out to our mutual pleasure, if a peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina is signed.

Annan: 'No Role' for UN Once NATO in Place

*AU0311162595 Paris AFP in English
1611 GMT 3 Nov 95*

[AFP headline: "UN Plans To Take a Back Seat in Bosnia Peace Implementation"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Nov 3 (AFP)—The United Nations will have no role in coordinating the implementation of peace in Bosnia beyond a short transitional phase in which its peacekeepers will either "switch helmets" to join a NATO-led peace implementation force or be withdrawn, it emerged here Friday [3 November].

The UN's intention to adopt a low profile was made clear by Kofi Annan, the UN's special representative in former Yugoslavia, during a meeting with NATO ambassadors.

"We will do everything we can to ensure that NATO's takeover from us is as smooth as possible," Annan said after the talks.

According to NATO sources, Annan told the ambassadors that his role would be purely transitional. He would step down as soon as a NATO force was deployed and a "high representative" of the international community was appointed to coordinate between NATO and other bodies charged with the tasks of organising elections, humanitarian work and reconstruction.

Once the high representative is functional, there will be no need for a senior UN representative in the theatre, Annan was quoted as saying.

NATO is planning to send a 60,000-strong force to police a peace deal but has insisted that its tasks are precisely defined and it alone has sole responsibility for carrying them out.

These conditions are designed to avoid the kind of problems that arose from the dual-key rules that previously governed UN-NATO relations in Bosnia and also to ensure that alliance troops will not need to stay in Bosnia for more than a year.

Annan acknowledged NATO's need to have exclusive control over military decisions but he called on the alliance not to be too rigid in its insistence on a civil/military division of tasks. In the crucial early phase of a settlement, troops may be needed to carry out certain emergency tasks such as restoring power lines if there is a delay in getting a civilian reconstruction effort under way.

Religious Leaders Protest Rights 'Violation'

LD0411230295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Council of Elders [Riyasat] of the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina has sent a letter to Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation President Kresimir Zubak and Vice President Ejup Ganic protesting the violation of religious rights in Jajce, Stolac, and Capljina:

Contrary to an agreement drawn up by the relevant representatives of the Croat and Bosniak nations within the bodies of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Muslims of Jajce, Stolac, and Capljina were not allowed to visit cemeteries in their birthplaces on Friday, 3 November.

Several thousand Muslims from Jajce were stopped by the Croat side at the approaches to their birthplace; Muslims from Stolac and Capljina were stopped while leaving Mostar. Meanwhile—on 1, 2, and 3 November, Catholics from Travnik, Bugojno, Mostar, and other towns visited their cemeteries and places of worship in their birthplaces without any hindrance.

This act by the Croat side represents a crude violation of an agreement, implementation of which should have made a great contribution to the restoration of trust between the two nations and the strengthening of the federation, as these were religious rites and initiatives that would have contributed to bringing the Croat and Bosniak nations closer together. Unfortunately, this is not the only case where the Bosniak-Croat agreements have been violated to the detriment of the Muslims in the domain of religious rights, the letter notes.

Karadzic Comments on Dayton Talks, Srebrenica

LD0511160595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 5 Nov (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [RS], said today that the outcome of the peace negotiations in Dayton will "in any case be painful for the Serbs since it is the Serb side that has moved the furthest from its initial position, which is to be part of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Speaking in the "Hallmark of Times" on Radio Kragujevac, Karadzic said that he expected the Dayton negotiations finally to establish peace in Bosnia and to return to the Serbs a considerable part of "the occupied territory in the Banja Luka region."

According to Karadzic, it is the Serb side's readiness to compromise that is "the mainstay of the U.S. peace initiative."

In evidence he cited the Serbs' agreement to remain within the Bosnian union and to accept less than 64 percent of the territory that, as he put it, belonged to them in Bosnia.

Karadzic regards the negotiations in Dayton as significant on the strength of the fact that they were initiated by the U.S. side, "which has for the first time acknowledged the existence of a Serb entity in Bosnia and the fact that Bosnia cannot survive as unitary state." In his words, all the peace initiatives so far have collapsed precisely because of a lack of support from U.S. political circles.

Reviewing the platform adopted by the RS assembly in the run up to the Dayton summit, Karadzic said that it "is a result of an insight into this reality" and that the goals laid down in the platform "are so just and modest that the international community will have to take account of them."

Karadzic described the Muslim side's additional demands as a list of wishes on the part of Izetbegovic's party.

The presence of a single negotiating delegation of the RS and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is seen by Karadzic as "an advantage for both sides" because they "are people of high quality, skillful and determined negotiators." He stressed in particular President Milosevic's diplomatic skills.

Asked why he himself was not a member of the delegation, Karadzic said that "it is not important who attends" because "all of us hold the same views, as we have been consistently pursuing this policy for as long as five years." He said he believed none of his aides would betray the people's hopes.

Following the emergence of the issue of entering Srebrenica, Karadzic said that when the Serb army had entered this Muslim enclave "nothing happened" and that raising this question was "a propaganda trick in the run up to the negotiations in Dayton."

"I have asked the army what happened there and they described it to me. This was a military operation and victory. The international community, i.e. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] fully witnessed everything that took place in its wake," Karadzic said.

He denied allegations that the Serb army was responsible for the disappearance of a large number of Muslims from Srebrenica, saying that "the puzzle is simple" and that "the actual number of the Muslims of Zepa and Srebrenica was smaller than the number they had reported in order to get more humanitarian aid, which was later distributed among their soldiers."

Receives Messages of Support

LD0311211195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 3 Nov (SRNA)—The coordination committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS SZ] for Vojvodina today sent a letter of support to Serb Republic President Radovan

Karadzic, stressing that he is the only legitimate president and that every action aimed at replacing him will be considered as a hostile action against the entire Serb people.

"Policy of pressure is nothing by the policy of aggravating the conflict, and bowing to pressure is the most shameful form of treason which leads to complete isolation," the letter stresses.

The SDS SZ coordination committee for Vojvodina "demands from the Serb Republic president not to give in at fateful moments and not to bow to the pressure of those who falsely portray themselves as well-meaning Pan-Serbs, but to continue honorably and unswervingly to bear the heavy burden of the cross entrusted to the Serb national leader, as he has done so far in these difficult circumstances."

The Serb Republic office for press relations has announced that President Karadzic received a large number of other messages of support from people and the army, from members and supporters of the SDS SZ, as well as from citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and Serbs in the diaspora.

Kasagic Defiant About U.S. Demand To Oust Leaders

AU0511175395 Paris AFP in English 1720 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 5 (AFP)—Rajko Kasagic, "prime minister" of the self-declared Bosnian Serb republic, responded defiantly on Sunday [5 November] to US demands that Bosnian Serb leaders be removed from power as part of an overall peace settlement.

The Serbs of Bosnia "will not permit the Americans or the Moslem authorities of Sarajevo to dictate to us their choice for (our) leaders," Kasagic told the SRNA news agency.

"The Serb people will decide themselves, since they alone can elect or dismiss their representatives," Kasagic added.

During the course of peace talks between leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Serbia underway in Dayton, Ohio, US Secretary of State Warren Christopher said on Thursday that Bosnian leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic would have to step down.

"We think they have no place in this endeavor in the future," Christopher told a US television network.

Kasagic said that if the US objected to Karadzic and Mladic "it can call for them to be handed over to the international tribunal at The Hague, which would be the equivalent of putting the entire Serb people on trial for alleged crimes."

The international tribunal has, in fact, indicted both men for war crimes.

Regarding the peace talks in Dayton, Kasagic said that the "war in ex-Yugoslavia has been politicized to such a extent that it is hard to hope for a lasting peace."

Assails U.S. 'Intentions'

LD0511184395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 5 Nov (SRNA)—Rajko Kasagic, the new premier designate of the government of the Serb republic, said today that there are vicious intentions and new conspiracies against the Serbian people behind the U.S. Administration's demand that President Radovan Karadzic and Serb Army General Ratko Mladic be replaced.

"It is not the United States or the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo but only the Serb people who will decide whether to recall any official in the Serb republic, as only the people have the right to elect their representatives through free and democratic elections," Kasagic said in a statement for SRNA. He added that "in the next phase the Americans might demand that Serb officials should be handed to the international tribunal in The Hague, which would amount to a trial of the entire Serbian people for alleged crimes."

The premier designate noted that even before the war broke out in this area, an indictment had been prepared for the Serbs with the intention of exonerating Germany from the genocide it committed against the Serbian people.

Kasagic also finds the international community's lack of impartiality in the fact that the Muslim and Croatian leaders have not been called to account for the crimes commmitted against the Serbian people.

"In just a few days Croatia drove out 250,000 Serbs from Krajina in full view of the whole world. Afterwards the Muslims and Croats drove out another 150,000 Serbs from western parts of the Serb republic, committing horrible massacres," Kasagic stated.

Commenting on the negotiations in Dayton, he cautioned that "the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is so much politicized that at present it is hard to expect a lasting solution to emerge."

In Kasagic's words, Washington and Moscow "are in a hurry to reach any kind of agreement before their elections but this will only lead to a temporary rather than lasting peace in this area."

Milosevic Said To Blame Pale for Continuing War

AU0611093695 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 95 p 17

[Article by Jovan Janjic: "The Machine Is Out of Order"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 23 and 24 October in Bijeljina, the people's assembly of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] agreed to a political platform for the peace negotiations in Ohio, which was assessed by the assembly's chairman, Momcilo Krajisnik, as being basically in harmony with the attitudes of the FRY. The platform of the Serb Republic consists of eight principles on the constitutional agreement (according to which, in the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina the Serb Republic and the Bosniak-Croatian Federation would be completely equal, with a right to form a confederation with their respective neighboring countries) and seven territorial priorities (according to which the Serb Republic, in addition to the Drina River, would have borders at the Una, the Sava, and the Neretva, access to the sea, a Serb part of Sarajevo, and 20-km-wide corridor at its narrowest point at Brcko).

This assembly meeting was preceded by three and a half hours of talks between the state delegations of the FRY and the Serb Republic, held on 19 October in Dobanovci near Belgrade. Both delegations were made up of top officials. On the Yugoslav side there were the presidents of the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro, namely Zoran Lilic, Slobodan Milosevic, and Momir Bulatovic respectively, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and head of the State Security Service Jovica Stanisic. In the delegation of the Serb Republic there were president Radovan Karadzic, vice presidents Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic, chairman and deputy chairman of the assembly Krajisnik and Milovan Milanovic, prime minister Dusan Kozic, foreign minister Aleksa Buha, and 22 assembly deputies (it had been thought that only five deputies of the people's assembly of the Serb Republic would take part, but a group of them came on their own initiative).

Before the Bijeljina meeting, Krajisnik said that Milosevic had assured them that in the continuation of the peace talks he would observe strategic goals of the Serb Republic and would intercede for it to get a wider corridor in the Brcko area. Furthermore, he assured them that the Serb ethnic territories recently lost in the Croatian-Muslim offensive in western Bosnia would be won back, that access to the sea would be secured, as well as a Serb Sarajevo and the territorial compactness of the Serb Republic. Which is to say, all that the leadership of the Serb Republic is stressing as its priorities! For the time being, this is just a promise! But before the glass of milk and honey, at the meeting in Dobanovci, where Milosevic had the main say, the representatives of the Serb Republic had to swallow many bitter ones. According to people who were present there, most of the time was spent doling out slaps in the face for the bullheaded nationalists (as Milosevic called them), laying the entire blame on them.

What the Serb Republic deputies most insisted upon at the meeting in Dobanovci they did not get. And that is a paper referring to a minimum of the Serb national interests. In fact, it is an annex to the agreement reached between the FRY and the Serb Republic on the joint participation at the peace negotiations, signed on 29 August in Belgrade, with the mediation of Patriarch Pavle, by top officials of the FRY and the Serb Republic. This annex was written and signed in a single copy. The Serb Republic delegation demanded photocopy of the document, but they were told that the machine was out of order, so the only copy has remained with Milosevic.

"In politics, when speaking of interests of the people and the state, there are no word-of-mouth guarantees," Dragan Djuric, assembly deputy from Prnjavor, has told NIN, and continued: "Milosevic did not want to show us the paper with the minimum of Serb interests. Considering how he explained the content of the document to us, it sounds acceptable. But, if it is as he tells us it is, why not show it to us? Before that, we had demanded that paper from our leadership, about which we were unjustifiably suspicious, but now we have realized that only Milosevic has it."

Djuric openly says that he is not enthusiastic about the talks in Belgrade, because the entire blame has been laid on those who are defending the people from genocide and because of the nonexistence of a unified Serb national policy.

Slobodan Bijelic, deputy from Dubica, is much more comprehensive and detailed in viewing the issue: "Milosevic's aides are simply competing as to who will be the first to go and get him a cigar and light it for him. He has the main say there. He asks questions and gives answers alone. This is also how it was on that occasion, with a remark that we are the main culprits for the peaceful policy that Serbia is pursuing and the policy of caring for the Serbian people being unsuccessful. The group of people who came to visit him that day were received with a comment that never before had such a small group of people caused such great damage. Such was the tone of the entire meeting. According to him, the entire responsibility lies with us, in our nationalism and bullheadedness. Yet, President Milosevic failed to answer a series of questions, such as, for instance, the question of lifting the blockade on the Drina, when we reminded him of Mr. Holbrooke's statement that it was just a Serbian matter. Obviously, he himself has left lifting of the blockade at the Drina for a better political moment. The next thing he was interested in, and for which he criticized us, was the removal of several generals. When we gave him some information, he appeared to agree with it," Bijelic says.

He also says that the meeting in Dobanovci was held in a typically political, or even diplomatic atmosphere. To put it vividly, it was as if the Serbs were meeting with the Greeks or Russians.

Reports on Replacement of Karadzic, Mladic Denied

LD0311224695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 3 Nov (SRNA)—The Serb Republic Information Ministry today issued a statement in response to the latest ill-intentioned false reports about alleged preparations for the replacement of the leading Serb Republic representatives.

The public statement, signed by Information Minister Miroslav Toholj, says that a Belgrade news agency recently carried a report that the dismissal of Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb Republic army's main headquarters, is reportedly being planned, quoting some allegedly "well-informed sources."

According to the agency, the alleged dismissal is in connection with the talks in Dayton and, as it hinted, with plans of some political circles in Belgrade to place proven candidates loyal to them in the posts currently held by Karadzic and General Mladic.

The clearly malicious report carried by the agency hints that the aim of this wishful thinking is "the strengthening of the cohesive and cooperative forces in the future union of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"It is not at all unusual that ill-disposed persons predict all sorts of political miracles," the statement says and expresses surprise that "such reports are readily accepted and spread by serious media in Serbia," which thus reveal their secret political wishes.

"It is pointless to talk about the real intentions of those who fabricate and launch such reports. It is even more pointless to guess whether speculation is founded that Belgrade and Washington have already harmonized their views on this," the statement says.

It then adds "these false reports which, in his absence, are being foisted on the chief Serbian negotiator in Dayton, are in fact being foisted on the Serb people in the Serb Republic so that they will put a noose around their own necks and organize their own government according to not fully expressed desires of not so friendly political circles in the country and abroad.

"As far as the Serb Republic is concerned, the situation is clear and fully harmonious: persons in whom the people have full trust will continue to be our political leaders," the Information Ministry statement says. It concludes that Belgrade will put forward a Serb Republic presidential candidate only when the Serb Republic becomes a part of the Serbian state or the FRY.

"As far as Washington proposals are concerned, it is too early to speak about the Serb Republic as the 51st U.S. state. It would be more appropriate to talk about vulgar democracy and global policy of violence," Minister Toholj says.

Serb Army Communique Reveals Rift With Police

LD0411192995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The information service of the Main Staff of the Serb Republic Army [VRS] issued a communique today saying that the withdrawal of special police units of the Serb Republic [RS] Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] has crudely threatened the command system of the Serb Republic armed forces.

The communique was issued in connection with an order issued by RS Internal Affairs Minister Tomislav Kovac of 2 November, on the withdrawal of MUP special police units from front lines and separation lines and their return to bases and places of residence to discharge regular police duties.

"It is a well-known fact that the deployment of VRS and MUP units is within the authority of the supreme commander, and that the internal affairs minister has no right to issue orders to police units engaged in armed operations conducted by the VRS operational units," the communique says.

The VRS Main Staff says that the decision is unreasonable given that peace negotiations have only just begun, while the front lines are still exposed to possible offensive actions by Croat and Muslim units.

"The decision appears even less reasonable if one takes into account the fact that members of the RS MUP units have defended the RS borders and took part in combat operation together with the VRS members, so it is to be expected that they will continue the struggle until the war ends," the communique says.

The VRS explains this with the fact that all structures of our society, including special police units, must share the fate and the struggle of the Serb people in the Serb Republic.

The VRS Main Staff says that the withdrawal of these units could be seen as a deliberate avoidance of responsibility for the joint defense of the Serb territories.

We expect that the supreme commander will—in line with his responsibilities—prevent the implementation of this order and the dissolution of a united defense front, because the war has not yet ended and the Croatian and Muslim forces could still undertake fresh offensives, the VRS Main Staff communique says.

ULRS Holds First Assembly, Elects Chairman

LD0411180295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the United Left of the Bosnian Serb Republic [ULRS], held in Banja Luka today, elected Mile Ivosevic, from Doboj, to the post of the ULRS chairman.

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [SK-PJ], the Liberal Party, the Workers' Union, the RS SUBNOR [WWII war veterans organization], the Women's League and the Association of War Veteran Pensioners are members of the ULRS.

Representatives of the Socialist Party of RS attended the founding assembly as quests. [passage omitted]

'International Community' Blamed for Srebrenica

AU0311182695 Paris AFP in English 1734 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Nov 3 (AFP)—The fall of the UN safe haven Srebrenica to the Bosnian Serbs was the responsibility of the international community, not the Dutch UN peacekeepers who were powerless to resist, Kofi Annan, the UN's Special Representative for former Yugoslavia, said on Friday [3 November].

"Assasination of peacekeepers by bullets or words must stop. We do not need to make them scapegoats for all our collective failure and lack of resolve," Annan said here.

Annan's remarks came amid growing controversy over who is to blame for the Srebrenica debacle.

After the thinly-defended safe haven in eastern Bosnia was overrun on July 11, an estimated 8,000 Moslem men were rounded up by the Bosnian Serbs and are believed to have been exterminated and buried in mass graves.

The fate of the enclave has sparked a flurry of recriminations, with the integrity of the outnumbered Dutch peacekeepers and UN commander General Bernard Janvier being called into question by accounts of the July events.

Annan admitted mistakes had been made but denied that the UN had deliberately abandoned Srebrenica.

"If there has been a failure in Srebrenica, I believe it was a failure of intelligence. Nobody was able to determine accurately or early enough to indicate there was going to be an attack," he said.

"There was a collective failure of putting in troops without the right equipment or capability to do what we generally came to expect of them.

"We have to look at things in a broader context rather than looking for scapegoats to blame."

Janvier, who was in Brussels Friday to attend a NATO meeting, responded to reporters' questions by denying a report in a German newspaper that he had refused to order NATO airstrikes to defend Srebrenica on the orders of French President Jacques Chirac.

UN Pledges Action To Free U.S. Reporter

AU0411162395 Paris AFP in English 1204 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 4 (AFP)—UN officials said Saturday they would do "everything in (their) power" to release the US journalist David Rohde, detained this week by the Bosnian Serbs.

"UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force), together with the US embassy in Bosnia, is pursuing this issue at meetings with the Bosnian Serb side in order to secure David Rohde's release.

"We do everything in our power and we earnestly hope for his earliest return to freedom," UN spokesman Yuri Chizhik said.

Chizhik said UN officials were due to hold a second meeting Saturday with the Serbs on Rohde. A meeting on Friday failed to yield any details on the reporter's whereabouts or condition, the UN spokesman said.

A statement issued by the Bosnian Serb "ministry of interior" of the breakaway Serb state said Rohde, a reporter for the Christian Science Monitor, had been detained in Zvornik, eastern Bosnia.

A Bosnian Serb communique accused Rohde of having "false documents" and of entering Serb territory "illegally."

Two Turkish journalists were detained by the Bosnian Serbs last month for several days before being exchanged for a number Serbs held by the Bosnian government.

Official Views Recent Prisoner Exchanges

AU0611102695 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 95 p 6

[Interview with Amor Masovic, deputy chairman of the State Commission for Exchange of Prisoners of War, by Faruk Cardzic; place and date not given: "The Aggressor Will Not Give Us Irfan Ajanovic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cardzic] The Serbs claim that at Sarajevo airport, accord has been reached only regarding the fifth out of six agreements negotiated, and that we are obstructing further agreements by postponing them until next Wednesday.

[Masovic] That is not true. The fifth agreement anticipates that all the sides will treat prisoners of war and civilians with humanity, as well as that all prisoners of war will be exchanged. Neither of these two conditions has yet been fulfilled. The Serbs are filling detention camps anew with male civilians of military age, and even with minors from the territories under their temporary occupation. In order to implement the fifth agreement, it is necessary that the aggressor allows the International Committee of Red Cross [ICRC] to register all the detainees or prisoners of war whom we have recorded as persons reported missing in the course of 1995. We have arranged a meeting next Wednesday in order to see whether the aggressor has made any progress in that respect.

[Cardzic] Are there any estimates about the number of prisoners being held in Serb prisons?

[Masovic] The estimates are not reliable, because they refer to several thousand civilians whom the aggressor recently captured. At the moment, however, the aggressor is not keeping imprisoned more than 50 or 60 members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina [BH Army], while the number of Serb soldiers imprisoned by the BH Army is considerably greater.

The Media Silence

[Masovic continues] I think that the aggressor is holding up to 60 bodies of dead members of the BH Army or the Interior Ministry [MUP]. However, we are holding a much greater number of bodies of dead members of the aggressor's army. We are always ready to accept an exchange according to the principle "all for all."

[Cardzic] The agreement does not refer to Irfan Ajanovic anywhere.

[Masovic] The less and less frequent mentioning of his name is a requirement by our commission. In the case of Irfan Ajanovic, publicity has proven to be totally counterproductive, because it has convinced the aggressor that Ajanovic is an extraordinary figure, which has made the position of Ajanovic himself even more difficult. At the moment he is being held in prison in Doboj, or more precisely, at Kotorsko prison. He is not mentioned in the agreement because we have not reached accord on his release yet. The representatives of the aggressor have insisted that Ajanovic will be the last citizen of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina they will release.

[Cardzic] What is the next step by the State Commission for Exchange of Prisoners of War?

[Masovic] During the three-day negotiations with the representatives of the aggressors from the Serb Republic and the FRY, we have accomplished six particular agreements that deal with the matter of exchange, which includes handing over the bodies of the dead and the exchange of prisoners of war. The first step should have been made already yesterday, simultaneously at Satorovici near Tuzla and at Sarajevo airport. It was about the exchange of the bodies of some dead BH Army soldiers, who were killed on Mount Treskavica, and the dead, or more precisely murdered prisoners, natives of Grapska near Doboj, who lost their lives in Kula prison. In exchange we are handing over the bodies of the aggressor's soldiers who were killed on Mount Ozren and Mount Vijenac, as well as a part of dead members of chetnik formations from Mount Treskavica.

[Cardzic] Is it still happening that, when being exchanged, Serbs are refusing to go back to the aggressor's side?

[Masovic] It appears to me that not a single exchange has occurred without one such case. The greater the number of soldiers exchanged, the more of those who do not want to go back to the other side there are. Such people, if they have been brought up for trial, are acquitted, and if they are already convicted, are pardoned, so that if they want to stay in the free territory, they may do so. However, in most cases such people emigrate to a third country, and we make it possible for them to do that, with the help of the ICRC.

[Cardzic] Compared with 1992, how does it feel to negotiate on such issues in 1995?

[Masovic] Today it is quite easy. The BH Army has become well organized in the meantime. The proportion regarding numbers of prisoners has changed drastically to our advantage. In 1992 it was sometimes the case that as many as a hundred BH Army soldiers were captured in just a few days, while we did not have a single enemy soldier. It was very, very difficult to gain the release of those soldiers of ours. Today, we are managing to get our soldiers out of the enemy's prisons relatively quickly.

[Cardzic] How did you accomplish the exchange of Vladimir Srebrov?

[Masovic] The aggressor's generals, particularly General Gvero, were always quite explicit in insisting that Srebrov could not be exchanged in any way, because he is allegedly a citizen of the Serb Republic. Since it has come to complete dissension between the military and the civilian authorities, the case of Srebrov has become a little less problematic.

480 Muslims Reportedly in 'Concentration Camp'

LD0511223895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A group of 480 Bosniaks from the Banja Luka area are living in inhumane conditions in a refugee camp in Okucani in Croatia. They do not have any refugee documents so they are not allowed to go beyond the wire fence. Nada Al-Isa reports:

[Al-Isa] A group of 480 Bosniaks are living fenced off within the base of the Nepalese battalion in Okucani. It is sad to see people living inside containers. Some of them are still in tents despite the subzero temperatures. Several families have to share a single container and both containers and tents are fenced off with wire. The UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] gives the people behind the wire one meal per day and there are no other cooked meals. There is no running water or heating in the camp. [passage omitted]

While Croats are moving into houses in places like Jajce, 480 Bosniaks are living behind a fence in a muddy camp in Okucani. It is a real concentration camp and anyone who chances to visit Okucani in the Republic of Croatia can see it for themselves.

National Bank Official Reviews Status of Dinar

AU0611074995 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 95 p 4

[Interview with Obrad Piljak, vice governor of the Bosnia-Herzegovina National Bank, by Zana Andrijevic; place and date not given: "There Can Be No Money Issue Without Cover"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Andrijevic] Mr.Piljak, could you make a brief analysis for VECERNJE NOVINE of the current status of the dinar on the territory under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Piljak] The current position of the dinar on the Bosnia-Herzegovina market is mainly satisfactory. The dinar is rather stable, and this could be seen, among other things, in the black exchange rate which, on all territories where such a rate exists, does not exceed 120 dinars for one German mark. In some towns, there is even no black exchange rate. Such is the situation in Maglaj, Travnik, as well as in Tuzla. On the other hand, we are aware of the fact that many commodities today cannot be obtained for dinars at all. True, the situation is far from convertibility, but one day, when war operations stop and production starts, I believe that the dinar will really be convertible.

[Andrijevic] How has this stability been achieved?

Cover for Money

[Piljak] Since July 1994, the state stopped increasing its debts to the National Bank and that is one of the most important reasons for the stability of the dinar. On the other hand, the government decree on mandatory payment of taxation in domestic currency has had much influence on this. Private people were forced to exchange foreign currency for dinars or, which was even easier, to sell commodities for dinars. This has lead to greater demand and stability. [passage omitted]

Deadlock Prevails at Erdut Talks on E. Slavonia

AU0511214695 Paris AFP in English
2133 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Erdut, Croatia, Nov 5 (AFP)—Serbs who control the eastern Slavonia region of Croatia rejected a new proposal by international mediators for placing the area back under Zagreb's authority, the chief Serb negotiator said.

Milan Milanovic, speaking after a day of talks with Peter Galbraith of the United States and Thorvald Stoltenberg of the United Nations, said "no accord has been signed."

Milanovic said the Serbs themselves had put their own new proposals to Galbraith and Stoltenberg, who, he said, did not accept them.

The mediators left Erdut without making any comment after more than six hours of talks.

Galbraith and Stoltenberg travelled to Erdut Saturday [4 November] after rebel Serbs boycotted a meeting with Croatian officials on the future of eastern Slavonia—the last Serb-held region of Croatia.

They were trying to persuade the Serbs to agree to new proposals providing for the peaceable reintegration of the lush, oil-rich region, which Serbs have held since 1991, into Croatia proper.

But as the talks stretched on into the evening it became clear that little headway was being made.

The deadlock over eastern Slavonia threatens to plunge Croatia back into conflict, particularly as Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has on several occasions warned Zagreb will retake the region by force if a peaceful solution is not found.

Serbs Reject Draft Agreement

LD0511232495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2224 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Erdut, 5 Nov (Tanjug)—The Serb side has not accepted the latest draft agreement on the peaceful settlement of the problem of the Srem-Baranja region offered by international mediators Peter Galbraith and Thorvald Stoltenberg, Milan Milanovic, head of the Serb negotiating team, said in Erdut this evening. [passage omitted]

Immediately after the talks, Galbraith and Stoltenberg left Erdut, declining to make any statements to the press.

Milanovic did not explain the reasons for the rejection of the latest agreement, but said that as far as the Serb side is concerned, the talks have not been interrupted. [passage omitted: background details]

Milanovic explained that the Serb side had presented its objections to the international envoys and offered its draft agreement for the peaceful resolution of the problem of the Srem-Baranja region. This agreement envisages a three-year transition period under UN administration, deployment of international forces in the region, permanent demobilization of the region with firm guarantees from the United Nations, United States, and the Russian Federation, and a referendum in which its citizens could voice their opinion on the final status of the region once the transition period is over.

The Serb proposal envisages the return of all refugees, irrespective of their nationality, establishment of a police force in accordance with the national structure, and full observance of human rights and liberties.

We are now awaiting a reply from the mediators tomorrow, Milanovic said; however, he went on to say, it appears, according to the current state of affairs, that the Serb position and proposals will not be taken into consideration.

The council of the Srem-Baranja region this evening sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The letter says that the Serb demand for the introduction of full UN administration in the region comes as a result of the conviction that Croatia will not respect human rights.

The letter recalls examples of such Croatian actions from the distant and recent past, particularly since the aggression against Western Slavonia on 1 May.

In the letter to Christopher, members of the Council welcome the agreement reached in Dayton between Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman and express Serb readiness to continue the talks.

E. Slavonia: Serbs Report Croatian Infantry Fire

LD0611125495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1201 GMT 6 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 6 Nov (SRNA)—Last night and this morning the Croatian Army opened fire from infantry weapons targeting Serb defense lines in Brsadin near Vukovar from the direction of Nustar and the defense lines held by the Serb Krajina army's Baranja Division from the right bank of the river Drava.

According to a statement issued by the command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps, Serb soldiers did not respond to enemy attacks.

Other sectors of the Slavonia-Baranja front have been quiet.

Army Chief Threatens To Untie E. Slavonia 'Knot'

LD0511190895 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The 1st Guards Brigade of the Croatian Army, the legendary Tigers, has marked its fifth anniversary. [passage omitted]

At a ceremony held in the football stadium in Kranjcevic Street [Zagreb], Corps General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of general staff of the Croatian Army, spoke on behalf of the president of the republic:

[begin Cervenko recording] The Croatian Army is getting ready—if the Gordian knot called eastern Slavonia is impossible to solve in a way offered and proposed by the leadership of our homeland Croatia, i.e. in a peaceful way—that Gordian knot will be untied by the 1st Guards Brigade and the Croatian Army. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Tudjman To Return to Dayton 'in a Few Days'

LD0311143995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman has arrived in Zagreb from Dayton in the United States, where he has been taking part in the beginning of the peace talks at the U.S. Wright-Patterson base. Here is a report by Drazen Korda from the welcoming ceremony at Zagreb airport:

[Korda] Asked by the assembled journalists for his assessment of what has been achieved at Dayton, President Tudjman said only that the talks with the rebel local Serbs will resume, and that this is based on the agreement in principle reached with [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic, and that he [Tudjman] will be returning to Dayton very soon.

[Begin Tudjman recording] All participants are obliged not to make any statements while the conference is in progress. I can tell you only that in a few days I will be returning to Dayton. Mr. Sarinic has just returned, as have Ambassador Galbraith and Mr. Stoltenberg. They are going off for talks [with Serbs in eastern Slavonia] on the basis of the agreement in principle we reached. [end recording]

[Korda] [passage omitted]

Mostar Mayor Criticizes EU Official for 'Haste'

AU0511175995 Berlin DIE WELT in German 4-5 Nov 95 p 4

[Article by Carl Gustaf Stroehm: "Will Koschnick's Mission in Mostar Fail?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—There is serious ill feeling if not a complete split between Hans Koschnick, the EU administrator, and the local Croatian authorities of the town of Mostar in Herzegovina. A failure of Koschnick's mission in this town, which has been suffering heavily from the war and ethnic conflicts, is quite possible.

Speaking to the EU foreign ministers in Luxembourg, Koschnick, who was mayor of Bremen in the past, harshly criticized the Croatian-Herzegovinian authorities and accused them of preventing free traffic between the Muslim eastern part and the Croatian western part of the town. The Croatian side blocks the further implementation of the "memorandum of understanding." It harasses the Muslims and prevents them from free access to the EU authorities in the town. Koschnick called on the EU foreign ministers to emphatically urge the implementation of the agreed goals in Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Mostar.

This speech caused heated reactions by the Croatian side in Mostar. The government party HDZ (Croatian Democratic Community) in the capital of Herzegovina accused the EU administrator of trying to blame the Croats for the obvious failure of his mission. It is more important for Koschnick to conclude his project on a formal legal basis than to really bring the different ethnic groups—Croats and Muslims—closer together, it was said.

Mijo Brajkowic, the mayor of the Croatian part, reacted with the accusation that Koschnick does not understand that the Croats in Mostar are fighting for their existence. The difference between him and Koschnick is that Koschnick will leave one day but he has to stay as mayor.

He has nothing against Koschnick as a person, Brajkowic stated, but it seems to him that the EU administrator is tackling the problems in the wrong order. In Mostar there was the "dirtiest" war between Muslim and Croats with 2,000 dead. It is known exactly who killed whom. Said Brajkowic: "Now someone from Brussels, Zagreb, or Split can ask us: Why do the people not mingle and live normally? But reality is very difficult.... The haste that Koschnick wants to force on us has the opposite effect of what is desired."

The Croatian side wants Mostar to be an undivided town. "We do not want a ghetto or walls." But they want to create conditions under which the Croats can develop freely. No one is against the people's freedom of movement—but then this must apply to the entire territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and not just to the town of Mostar, which currently houses 16,000 Croats, who were driven from their homes by the Muslim-Bosnian Army, he pointed out.

UN: Abandoned Serbs Could Die This Winter

AU0511141295 Paris AFP in English
1308 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 5 (AFP)—Hundreds of elderly Serbs left behind in isolated mountain villages and hamlets after a Croatian army offensive drove out Serb rebels could die when snow comes in the next few weeks, a UN officer told AFP Sunday [5 November].

With bitter winter weather already gripping the Croatian mountains, the estimated 5,000 elderly Serbs remaining in the Croatian Krajina region after it was recaptured in August are expected to suffer extreme hardship with little chance of outside help, Eygptian UN liaison officer Captain Amr Vahran told AFP.

UN military observers (UNMOs) based in the area have been providing medicine, food and fuel to the elderly Serbs in the weeks since their friends and relatives fled the Croatian advance in August, Vahran said in Topusko, a tiny town in the Krajina south of Zagreb.

But the withdrawal of the United Nations from Croatia, ordered by the UN after the offensive and strongly supported by Zagreb, means that from 90 UNMOs a few weeks ago, the UNMO force in Topusko has been cut to 20 and will be pulled out entirely on Tuesday, Vadran said.

"Hundreds of people will die because the Croatians, the (nongovernmental organisations) NGOs, the humanitarian agencies have not ensured proper care of these people," he said. "They do not want to leave because they know that as soon as they go their houses will be taken over by Croats."

"We're just waiting now for the snow to come and when it comes, 90 percent of the villages will be cut off," he added.

He said that the UN would be able to reach the area but the NGOs won't have the vehicles necessary to tackle the snowy roads and others are not willing to try.

"Life is very hard for them already," he said of residents living in the mountain villages.

"They live in places with no electricity or other fuel, often with no water, their cattle have either died, disappeared or been stolen, they have no source of milk or meat."

In many cases there is nothing left in their houses, no furniture to burn for fuel because of looting.

"People were unwilling to come out when we arrived with food and medicines because they thought we were Croatian army," the Egyptian officer said.

"In some instances, our patrols would see people in (Croatian) army uniform gathering cattle. We would report it, but nothing would happen."

More than 150,000 Serbs left the Krajina in the run up to the August offensive to retake control of the area seized by Serb rebels in 1991.

The Croatian government has admitted that its troops committed some crimes in the area, looting and burning Serb houses, forcing people to leave and carrying out summary executions.

The authorities have published a list of names of soldiers they claim to have arrested over some of the crimes but US and UN officials are sceptical.

US Assistant Secretary of State for human rights John Shattuck said in Zagreb last month that he had discussed with the Croatian government the victimisation of its minority Serb population and called for the lifting of a decree passed in September effectively barring the return of Croatian Serbs who fled the Croatian Krajina region in August.

"More prosecutions and arrests (of those responsible for crimes against Serb civilians in the area) need to occur," he added.

According to UN and aid agency officials, most of those Serbs left behind in the Krajina either could not leave because they were too elderly or handicapped or because they refused to quit homes they have lived in all their lives.

"The people we are talking about are not war criminals or even soldiers," Vadran said. "Their average age is around 70. Most are between 65 and 80."

Bosnian Croats Said To Fear for Their Rights

AU0611110395 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR
in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 95 p 27

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Central Bosnian Theorem"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When one visits parts of central Bosnia and western Herzegovina that are under the control of Croatian forces, and when one talks to ordinary people, civilians and soldiers, one can notice certain fear which is not a political expression but more like a state of mind. Meanwhile, that is not, as one would expect, a fear of a possible counteroffensive of the Bosnian Serb army or anxiety because of a sudden action of the Muslim forces on a Croatian enclave, the point in question is internal restlessness of the most of individuals regarding the political stands of the majority of the opposition toward the solution of Croatian question in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A soldier from Kiseljak, a member of the 3d Guard Brigade, whom we met on the outskirts of Jajce, has put it shortly in these words: "What if they push us again into various alliances, close the Croatian border, and leave us for another five hundred years to fight for our rights?" That is exactly the stumbling block that lies heavy on the soul of the majority of the Croats and, it is interesting, more of the Bosnian ones, than Herzegovinian, while they make war and get killed on Bosnian mountains. Because, what is the use of a military victory and victims, if in the end they will be pushed again into a "dark empire," into some kind of cantonized or federalized Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is all the same for them, because for them it means the postponing of the beginning of life for many, many years.

The Croats from central Bosnia are mostly afraid of the impression that the Croatian opposition trusts the Sarajevo (for them: Muslim) government more than the Croatian political representatives from Herzeg-Bosnia. They wonder, whether the opposition would, in case they take over in Croatia, simply deliver them to Izetbegovic and give him the right to rule over them and over their land. A group of Croats, serious, elderly people from Zenica and Bugojno, have told us what they thought of Izetbegovic. "We have managed to get our heads alive, and it is out of question, regardless of any agreements, to get back to any of those towns as long as there are Muslim authorities," they say. Then they mention the names of some of their neighbors who had remained there, and who have now been appointed "by the decision of the authorities, town garbage collectors." To our surprise, they explain to us that it was a compulsory work order for them and the condition under which they had been able to get humanitarian aid. If the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina were to become the only army, it would happen to almost all of us, and the time of Turkish Empire would repeat itself, when they were beys and we were rightless Christian Turkish subjects. Therefore, we will sooner move out, than accept even one day under such conditions. We ask them how can it be that the leadership of the Bosnian Franciscans is rather inclined to Izetbegovic's ideas of the establishment of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They tell us that they were used to that, both from the Turkish and Yugoslav times, they would always get something from them and the authorities have always appreciated them by providing a fair status for them, but the Franciscans forget that the people have always been in an inferior position. And therefore we do not want that to happen again.

New Union—What For?

It is really somewhat strange that the Croatian opposition still insists upon the same stands on the integral and cantonized Bosnia-Herzegovina, when even the Americans have given up that idea, having recently provided a special status for the "Serb entity" in Geneva. The opposition had certain reasons for such a vision of theirs before Operation Storm, because it seemed that the occupied territory of the former "krajina" would be facilitated if the integral Bosnia-Herzegovina were created, with a strong central government in Sarajevo. However, today when Croatia is mostly free, and when Croatian units in Bosnia-Herzegovina control about 28 percent of the territory of that country, there is no reason at all to insist upon the creation of some kind of union of the peoples which would, as Kissinger has put it, "be a reason for an eternal war." It seems that the Croatian opposition, particularly HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party], insists more upon the principle of unchangeableness of the borders of the internationally recognized countries, than it thinks about the viability of this project of theirs. They do not even mind the fact that in such an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, cantonized Bosnia-Herzegovina, without strictly drawn national territories, the Croats would naturally be inclined to leave for Croatia and thus lose territories in the future. Meanwhile, that principle is not completely applicable to Bosnia-Herzegovina because it is not a traditional western state with one majority nation and national minorities, but a state with three constituent nations. When one adds the fact that the Serbs and the Croats territorially link up with Serbia, and Croatia, there is nothing more natural than to connect their entities from Bosnia-Herzegovina to their national states. Besides, one should notice that the processes in the Muslim nation are leading to the creation of a national Muslim state, and that it will happen, sooner or later, even with the resistance of the western countries. This is because of the simple fact that wherever they are in power the Muslims will establish their order regardless of the former ethnic structure, the election results before the war, or their public theses on civic and cantonized Bosnia-Herzegovina.

New Circumstances

The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina have understood that, and therefore the different criteria the Croatian opposition uses in its treatment of the Muslim and Croatian representatives from Bosnia-Herzegovina hurt their feelings. The opposition trusts more in Sarajevo than in Mostar, and from that fact originates the fear for their own future. Unfortunately, such an opinion predominates with the majority of those with whom we have talked. It is understandable that the political representatives of the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina, members of HDZ, prefer the cooperation with their own party in Croatia. However, the fact that ordinary people are rejecting the Croatian opposition more than HDZ members have pointed out should seriously concern the creators of the opposition policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Circumstances today are not the same in these former Yugoslav areas as in 1990. Official Zagreb did not start the aggression either against the Serbs or against the Muslims, because if it had, it would not lose both Travnik and Bugojno and Vares and other places in the Croatian-Muslim war. If the Americans construct their peace plan upon the circumstances today, then the Croatian opposition has no right to keep offering the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina as scapegoats in order to incorporate their illusion of the integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such a Bosnia-Herzegovina would in fact be a good bedrock for new southern Slavic associations, and the Croatian opposition, presumably, does not want it.

President Tudjman's 4 Nov News Conference

LD0411134695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 4 Nov 95

[News conference by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and gentlemen: Since the results of the elections are known, regardless of the fact that [word indistinct] minor details which will not (?affect) the final results of the elections, I have decided today to relieve Prime Minister Nikica Valentic of his duties and to appoint Zlatko Matesa [minister without portfolio] as new prime minister. This decision will come into force on Tuesday 7 November.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, who has been in this post for two years and seven months, and there are another seven days until Tuesday. [laughs].

He has been not only the longest serving prime minister since the establishment of a free democratic Croatia, but a prime minister who successfully carried out in a dignified manner the program started by the previous government—the program for the economic stabilization of Croatia and the introduction of a new national currency, something which both abroad and among the Croatian public was proclaimed to be the implementation of Croatia's economic revival. Despite the consequences of aggression and the circumstances of war, we succeeded in completely curbing inflation and establishing economic relations which made possible the implementation of policy in all other areas.

So Nikica Valentic has been one of my foremost colleagues throughout my presidency, at the head of the government, and very successful. I believe that not only the public today but also history will record him as such, as making a great contribution to the development of the sovereign, democratic Croatian state. I take this opportunity to thank him, and I expect that the new prime minister, who will present his government to me by 7 November, will continue the work of the outgoing government, the government of Nikica Valentic, but will also be a government which will have new tasks in the new circumstances in which Croatia now finds itself in the light of the domestic and international situation.

That is all that I wish to say by way of introduction. Thank you.

[Prime Minister Valentic] Just a few words, if you would allow me. On the basis of the constitutional requirements and in accordance with parliamentary practice, I have today handed my mandate as prime minister back to the president of the Republic, and on this basis, as you have heard, the president of the Republic has decided to appoint a new prime minister.

I have carried out this job with great enthusiasm, aware of the great responsibility for all the interests of the state, and it was indeed an honor and pleasure for me to be prime minister, knowing how important the stability of the economy is for the overall development of the state.

I have my own plans, and I would like to stress that my only reasons for leaving the government and to a large extent politics, are principally private reasons, and I will remain someone who, in whatever post I work, will give full support to the policies of the state and in particular, the economic policy of the new government.

I would like to ask everyone to recognize the serious struggles awaiting the new government and to give full support to the new government and new prime minister. This applies not only to the ruling party but to all important players in public life, because this is not a struggle of the government alone but a struggle of the whole of Croatia. We continue to need unity both for the implementation of state policies and for the continuing implementation of economic reforms. Thank you.

[Minister Matesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I would first like to thank the president of the republic for the particular honor he has shown me in entrusting this mandate to me, in appointing me prime minister.

The government we will propose to the president of the republic will have to fulfill two important prerequisites—it will have to be a government of continuity, but at the same time a government which will put forward new proposals for development and which will take the Croatian economy into a new cycle of development. I will say more about this when the government is formed. Thank you.

[Moderator] Colleague Curic, you will ask the first question.

[Curic] Curic, Croatian TV. First, can you say more about the composition of the new government? If you do not want to answer this question, then a question for President Tudjman about eastern Slavonia: what has been agreed and can you tell us more than what you said after Dayton?

[Tudjman] I think that neither I nor the new prime minister will talk any more about the composition of the new government until he finalizes his proposals.

As far as eastern Slavonia is concerned, you have seen the agreement reached in principle with President Milosevic about the need to normalize Croatian-Serbian relations.

Mr. [Hrvoje] Sarinic, head of the presidential office [and Croatian chief negotiator], today went with Ambassador Galbraith and Mr. Stoltenberg, who is here on the behalf of the European Union [EU] and the United Nations, to meet with local Serbs in order to determine in which way and how to peacefully include eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja with Vukovar into Croatia's constitutional and legal system.

There is a desire and there are good intentions, but I think that the negotiations will be quite difficult. You know what I said at the UN General Assembly, what I have just repeated, and what I said earlier during talks with U.S. President Clinton and now at the conference: we are for a peaceful solution, but we cannot postpone a solution beyond the current conference and the current UN Confidence Restoration Operation [UNCRO] mandate.

On the one hand the Serbian side says that it accepts a peaceful solution, but on the other hand it makes demands which are unacceptable to us, and hence we should wait and see what happens in Osijek today and in the next two or three days of talks with local Serbs and what happens at that conference.

[Nada al-Issa] Nada al-Issa of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-Television and BH PRESS. Mr. President, yesterday something happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina which could again hamper the development of the federation: In the liberated territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosniaks set off for Jajce to visit graves, but they were stopped by representatives of the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia, described as armed according to my information from Sarajevo. Since Croatia is considered responsible for setting up the federation, what can you do—since I think this damages Croatia's peace efforts and you personally in the eyes of the world—to prevent obstacles being put in the way of the federation on the Croatian side, at least by examples such as this?

[Tudjman] First of all, madam, it is not a question of a so-called Herzeg-Bosnia, but rather a Herzeg-Bosnia which was created during the resistance against Yugo-communist and Serb aggression and which is recognized within the Bosniak-Muslim-Croat federation and also in international documents.

As far as the incident which you mention is concerned, I do not know the details but I do know, and this was also mentioned at the conference in Dayton, that in the region of Jajce which was liberated by Croatian forces, 5-6,000 Muslims have already returned, been allowed to return, which is not the case in other towns which are under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is also not true, as you said, that Croats are putting up resistance. There are, of course, extremists on both sides who are not contributing to the implementation of the Washington agreement on the creation of the federation and on the ties of federation with Croatia, but it is generally known and is known to those people who are involved in the international arena, that there is greater resistance on the Muslim side.

But we will not get anywhere if we were to talk only about such difficulties. What is essential is that both sides, both Bosniak-Muslim and Croat, focus on the implementation of the agreement on the federation, because that is in the interests of both the Bosniak-Muslim and Croat peoples. I believe it will succeed, and that is why the media should emphasize the positive examples and not insist on differences which occur.

It is important that with this Washington agreement we have created a basis for cooperation, and that hostilities have ceased. We should recall, for example, that although agreements have been signed between the Palestinians and Israel over many years hostilities are still going on, but here they have been ruled out. So these are positive results, upon which we should build, as I said, in the interests not only of these two peoples but also in the interest of creating a new international order in the area of former Yugoslavia.

[Moderator] Mr. Saleh, your question, please.

[Saleh] Mr. President: You have said before that you would not renew UNCRO's mandate [United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia]. On 30th [November] the UNCRO mandate ends. What if the talks in Dayton have not ended by this time? And if there is no agreement between the local Serbs and the Croatian authorities, will you extend UNCRO's mandate or do something else?

[Tudjman] When I said that we will not extend it, then we will not extend it. The negotiations in Dayton will not go on beyond the end of this month, and it is known that if these efforts are in vain, then Croatia, as a sovereign state, retains the right to take all those measures which are available to it to return this area to the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia. But I am convinced that, in view of the fact that the prospects for a war... [pauses] those sides who might want war and who are resisting a peaceful inclusion of these occupied areas into Croatia, have no prospects. So I believe that we will achieve a peaceful solution.

[Moderator] The next question. Please, madam.

[Redzepi] Dijana Redzepi for Deutsche Welle. Mr. President, our government ...

[Tudjman] [interrupts] I did not understand.

[Redzepi] Dijana Redzepi for Deutsche Welle. Mr. President, our government has declared Carl Bildt persona non grata in Croatia after he made accusations against you. You sat at the same table with him in Ohio. Does this signal a possible change in our government's attitude toward negotiator Carl Bildt? Thank you.

[Tudjman] I think that your statement that the government has declared him persona non grata is not correct. Our Foreign Ministry explained that some statements made by Mr. Bildt are unacceptable to Croatia and that he is expected to retract these statements. Mr. Bildt is at the conference table on the behalf of the EU, and it is not for me to say who will represent the EU or any other country.

[Juresko] Zoranka Juresko, VJESNIK. Mr. President, you have expressed optimism about the talks in Ohio and Milosevic's acceding to an agreement. On what do you base this optimism and will Milosevic this time really respect the agreements?

[Tudjman] I said these talks would be difficult, not to say painstaking. Nevertheless, I believe that we can be optimists in the sense that the international community, that is the United State s which organized this conference... [pauses] that this international community achieved the greatest possible degree hitherto of common viewpoints among both the United States and the EU—that is the main states within the EU—and Russia, in their efforts to achieve peace in the former Yugoslavia. These are general frameworks, while on the other hand Serbia, in view of its international isolation, the sanctions, and its economic situation, has likewise been forced to accept peace in its own interests.

[Moderator] Next question. Yes, please.

[Perasevic] Zeljko Perasevic [words indistinct]. I would like to address a question to the former prime minister and the new prime minister. Very sharp criticism has been directed at the Valentic government on the grounds that its only basic program is monetarism. If this is true, will the new government continue this policy or will it offer something else? Thank you.

[Valentic] Such criticism has never come from any serious quarters, because every lay person knows full well that you cannot maintain stability over two and a half years only by monetary means. The measures were very comprehensive and they have produced results, and I believe Mr. Matesa is right when he said that we now need a new development cycle, and stabilization [words indistinct]. We await development and you have heard that this is the government's main task. Monetary policy is just one of a series of measures which produces overall results.

[Matesa] I have little to add to this. As regards the way I see the role of the new government, I believe it is important to underscore that the level of macroeconomic stability which has been achieved is a precondition for overall development. So there will be new measures and some new approaches.

[Moderator] Next question, please. Mr. Markovic.

[Markovic] Mr. President, could you comment on the new composition of the Chamber of Deputies of the parliament?

[Tudjman] I believe it is important that following the elections we have a parliament which to a greater extent will guarantee serious work in the parliament and consider the main problems both in the economic and in all other fields. It is important that the majority party has won a convincing majority, so that we have a majority which will ensure the successful resolution of all problems facing Croatia and both its internal and foreign policy.

The new electoral law contributed to the parliament having fewer parties—five parties—along with a few individuals from some smaller parties, and this process of creating party life will probably be in keeping with the interests of the Croatian state and not in the interests of politicking, and this will continue both in parliament and in Croatian political life until new elections.

All in all I believe that we have, with the election results, a situation in which the new government will safely be able to operate and function even more successfully in cooperation with the parliament than hitherto.

[Moderator] Next question, please.

[Piskor] Mate Piskor, VECERNJI LIST. Mr. President, you said that the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] had an absolute victory in Croatia, but it lost in Zagreb. What is your comment? Thank you.

[Tudjman] First of all, the HDZ is the strongest party both in terms of received votes, which means it has a relative majority, and in terms of elected deputies, also in Zagreb. So, according to all parliamentary democratic principles, the HDZ has the right to stay at the helm of the county and city leadership in agreement with other parties: either each party will be represented proportionally or in coalition with some of these parties.

In any case, it is important that our public understands that the situation in which Croatia finds itself regarding problems of liberating the remaining occupied territories and the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is such that we cannot allow some sort of opposition which would rock Croatia's stability to take root in the city of Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, where a quarter of the Croatian population lives.

So, I expect political parties to rise to the task and, in line with the election results, to reach solutions which would facilitate the harmonious work of the county and city leadership and the Croatian Government and the overall state policy.

[Moderator] Next question. Mr. Ivkusic.

[Ivkusic] Milan Ivkusic, HRVATSKI OBZOR. Two questions. How were the elections in Croatia received in the relevant political circles in the world? Do you have to say something which we could not read? And, now that the elections are behind us and the government is being changed, will there be any changes in the president's office?

[Tudjman] First of all, all serious political circles in the world—and there are enough of them which realize Croatia's importance not just for the search for a solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia but also for the creation of the new world order—have congratulated us on the election results. They take them as a new proof of the consolidation of the democratic system in Croatia and, thus, of Croatia's willingness to engage in international cooperation and politics.

It is probably widely recognized that the current initiative would be impossible without the results Croatia has achieved in developing its democratic system, in its economic policies, and in the military field. These results have altered the overall strategic relations in this part of the world. I can also add that results which the international community expects cannot be reached without Croatia's contribution to the current conference.

Regarding your second question. We are going to have a new government. This will mean some continuity but also new elements, and we will have a new assembly leadership. The president's office is an element of the top state structure, so it is normal that there will be some changes in the president's office.

[Moderator] The next question, please.

[Modric] Modric, YOMIURI SHIMBUN. Mr. President, over the past five years five premiers have postponed the start of the process of returning the private property that was confiscated in various ways through various confiscations and nationalizations in Croatia in 1941, 1942, 1945, and until 1948. Will you give the new prime minister the task of finally starting to put an end to communism, as you promised in your election campaign in 1990? Thank you.

[Tudjman] The roots of the need to denationalize are somewhat deeper than you said. It is not just a question of 1941 but also of 1918, and, if you like, this is a historical sequence of events which tells about... [pauses] and understandably, the communist era underlines this need to consider the problem of denationalization. [as heard]

Previous governments were charged with this task, but because of the war—to put it in simple terms—the problem was not resolved, although it was considered. There are already several draft solutions to this problem. Certainly one of the priority tasks of the new government will be to present a bill on denationalization to the assembly so that everything possible is denationalized and that past mistakes are rectified, while ensuring that the new denationalization does not create more problems than would exist if things were left as they are.

So, this is a delicate issue which has not been fully resolved in any of the former communist countries. It is complex, but it should be tackled and it is certain that the new government will treat it as a priority task on its agenda.

[Moderator] We have another five minutes. Mr. Curic, your question please.

[Curic] A question about Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is the meaning of the announcement of talks between the

Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the HDZ on strengthening the federation government? Could you tell us any more about this? Also, could you tell us more about your attitude to the withering away of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, which is being talked about in Sarajevo, and about the areas of responsibility of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation?

[Tudjman] These matters will be resolved on the basis of new constitutional principles concerning the federation and the central bodies of this Bosnia-Herzegovina union, or as it is already being called, this common state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will consist of two state entities, but also of three constituent peoples. The Washington Agreement sets this out, and in this respect nothing will change. The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [as heard] will wither away to the degree to which—not only in theory and in law but also in practice—life is breathed into the Washington Agreement in terms of its creating full equality of the Croatian nation in the federation and to the degree the federation will rely on Croatia. These issues are part of the general principles that the organizers of this conference are putting to the participants, and also the subject of direct talks in Ohio.

[Moderator] Mrs. Redzepi, please.

[Tudjman, interrupts] There is a gentleman who has not yet asked a question.

[Moderator] Let the lady go first, and then the gentleman. There is enough time.

[Redzepi] Dijana Redzepi, Deutsche Welle. Mr. President, why does not your and Mr. Milosevic's joint statement contain assurances that eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Srem are parts of the Republic of Croatia? Thank you.

[Tudjman] Because it is self-evident.

[Seselj] Stjepan Seselj, HRVATSKO SLOVO. Mr. President, you have spoken on a number of occasions, just the same as the prime minister has done, of how much Croatian cultural workers supported Croatian democratic authorities—with you in the forefront—right from the beginning of the reform.

In my view, and according to all those who have been seriously following developments on the Croatian cultural scene, a huge number of Croatian cultural workers today support your policies. Only an insignificant part, I will call them rabble-rousers—those who are financially much better off than many Croatian workers—are very loud. Therefore, I would like to ask here whether the new government will be mandated by you to earmark more money for Croatian cultural workers and media—newspapers, TV, theaters, and other things—hopefully in the upcoming period with the significant improvement of the situation with regard to the resolution of war problems. Thank you.

[Tudjman] Your question calls for a thorough explanation. First of all, it is in connection with the framework of the overall international circumstances whereby many international players wanted to preserve former Yugoslavia and then wanted to have different authorities in Croatia. We witnessed them financially supporting through various donations many media and initiatives in Croatia that favored destabilization of the constitutionally based government that was elected by the Croatian electorate.

Of course, hitherto Croatian governments, led by me, were not able to earmark sizeable amounts for the areas of culture and science, not because we did not understand the need for it; this government has a much higher number of intellectuals, ranging from science to humanities, than is the case in many other states. Just look at the composition of our government, our diplomatic missions, and you will see that Croatian intelligentsia, Croatian cultural and scientific workers, are really involved in the development of the free and democratic Croatia in all spheres.

But of course, in the circumstances when we were forced to earmark enormous amounts in our budget for the creation of our army—as we all know this proved to be very purposeful not only for the preservation of Croatia, but also to make it become an indispensable international player in the creation of the new international order. Now, that we are so close to the final resolution of that essential question, we are able to redirect more money to the domain of culture and science; it is completely certain that we can expect the new situation to be easily felt also in these areas, and that the new government will devote its full attention to these areas, since we all know how important they are for the national and state progress.

[Correspondent] [name indistinct] Is Croatia threatened with a surge of terrorism? The Zagreb-Vinkovci railway line has been blown up several times, the car bomb exploded in Rijeka, Islamic fundamentalists are threatening, Serb spies have been caught. How should we protect ourselves? Thank you.

[Tudjman] We should protect ourselves through the stability of the democratic order—generally speaking in the political sense, and through the professionalism of the security bodies of the Internal Affairs Ministry. Unfortunately, Croatia is part of the current world where terrorism is present even in the best organized states—Germany, France, the United States.

Therefore, we have to be aware that Croatia, given its part in the resolution of the situation in which we were, will definitely be a target for terrorist acts by different terrorist organizations, but I hope that Croatia has up until now shown enough readiness to foil such attempts. Anyhow, most of the examples that you have mentioned were not carried out—even though groups of Serb extremists remained in Croatia even after Flash and Storm operations; they caused some of the unpleasant incidents for which even the Croatian authorities were blamed.

[Moderator] Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention. With this we are concluding the president's news conference. Thank you.

Tudjman Expresses Thanks to Outgoing Government

LD0611130695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 6 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The last session of this Croatian Government was held under the chairmanship of President Dr. Franjo Tudjman. The only item on the agenda was the review of the government's work. Sanja Rabuzin-Pavic reports:

[Rabuzin-Pavic] Five years have passed since the establishment of the independent and sovereign Croatian state and this government was at the helm of the state leadership for almost half of this period: two years, seven months and seven days, President Dr. Franjo Tudjman said. [as heard]

[Begin Tudjman recording] You represented a continuity with the former governments, but you were also a new government with a program that suited the state policies and a program of resolving problems which have existed from the first day until today. You carried out this task successfully, and it will be noted not just that you were the longest government but also very successful in resolving important issues: that is, economic stabilization in the sense of achieving economic revival for the sake of above all stabilization; the introduction of new currency is one of the historical tasks, which has been successfully completed; and not just, I would say, which was above all of economic importance, but also of political importance. [as heard]

Hence, the new, democratic Croatia has exercised sovereignty in this area of its existence as a state. [end recording]

The problems that this government faced, Tudjman said, were very complex, but the government was resolving them very successfully because it was united and because it was backed by the state leadership and the assembly. Even the most eminent world experts acknowledge that despite the aggression and care for displaced people and refugees and despite international circumstances which did not always favor it, Croatia has achieved an economic miracle.

[Begin Tudjman recording] We have achieved that Croatia is today not just recognized but also respected internationally, because it has a stable internal and democratic system, because it has a state leadership which, I quote some international factors, "knew what it wanted" and because you were a constituent part of this situation in the Croatian democratic system and state leadership. [end recording]

Croatian President Tudjman, as head of the state, thanked the hitherto premier, deputy premiers, and government members and paid tribute to their work. [passage omitted]

Deputy Voting in 16 Electoral Wards Repeated

LD0511095495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As a result of irregularities in the voting procedure, voting for deputies in the Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian Assembly will be repeated today in 16 electoral wards in Dugo Selo, Rijeka, and Pozega, and onboard the Banija and Sloga merchant ships. The polling stations in the above wards opened at 0700 and will close at 1900.

The Republic's electoral commission is expected to announce the final election results either on 8 or 9 November.

Opposition Parties Form 'New Assembly' Grouping

LD0311212795 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 Nov 95

[Report by Branko Nadjvinski]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] By signing a statement on principles of postelection activity, the leaders of the parties which presented a joint election list—HSS [Croatian Peasants' Party], IDS [Istrian Democratic Assembly], HNS [Croatian People's Party], HKDU [Croatian Christian Democratic Union], and SBHS [Slavonia-Baranja Croatian Party]—have set up a grouping called New Assembly '95. The grouping will act to defend democracy and bring Croatia closer to Europe, it was said at a news conference. The leaders of the new grouping have denied rumors that they united only during the election campaign to allow small parties to gain seats in the parliament. [passage omitted] [video shows opposition leaders at a news conference]

HDZ Seen Politicizing Army, Church, Police

AU0611115195 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 95 p 4

[Commentary by Professor Dr. Mirjana Kasapovic: "How Could It Happen That General Mladen Markac, Armed and in Uniform, Makes Speech in HDZ Election Campaign at Church Opening Ceremony?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The last parliamentary elections in Croatia came dangerously close to some kind of "antiparliamentary" act with unforeseeable political, social, and cultural consequences.

The general idea of these parliamentary elections was, namely, the establishment of an as weak as possible "one-party" parliament, which would not represent an obstacle to the future legal and real strengthening of presidential authority.

The leaders of the opposition parties were not right when they warned the electorate that these elections were not about Dr. Franjo Tudjman. These elections were precisely and first of all about him. He, after all, has clearly shown that by his furious election campaign.

Had the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] lost its absolute majority in the Chamber of Representatives, either the present presidential system, or the Parliament itself would be brought in question.

The opposition political parties would certainly try to change the constitutional position of the president of the country, to which the chief of state would, probably, react by dissolving parliament. The cohabitation of Dr Franjo Tudjman, the potential oppositional parliamentary majority, and the government is practically out of question: Tudjman would not stand "dilettantes" and "clowns," nor they would stand him.

As the only unquestionable political institution and person in Croatia today is precisely Dr Franjo Tudjman, a change of the ruling party that might jeopardize him was absolutely out of the question in these parliamentary elections. Nobody has dared to say that in public, but it has been clear to everybody.

Djapization of Opposition

In fact, the only sincere person proved to be Anto Djapic, spokesperson of pseudo-opposition Croatian Party of Right, by openly admitting that his party did not [last word in italics] fight for power, and having wished that Croatian Democratic Community wins the elections. Many nice wishes and nice words of the people in power sent to Djapic confirms that the authorities would be most glad to see the "djapization" [to become like Djapic] of the whole opposition.

Otherwise, the parliamentary elections in which the change of the ruling parties is practically out of question and in which the political opposition—or at least one part of it—serves, first of all, as proof of democratic quality of the political order in the international community, are called semicompetitive elections, and are typical of authoritarian regimes.

A series of other political procedures and processes which marked these elections is also typical of undemocratic regimes.

By legislative self-will and unlimited electoral engineering the contemporary democratic election legislature has been revised—this revision has appalled foreign experts and political observers—and the national elections have been extended onto the territory of a neighboring country.

The autochthonous Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina has officially been declared Croatian diaspora and placed in an unenviable position in the mother country. If it is really necessary to talk about the mother country-diaspora relations in the relations between the Croats from Croatia and the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina, then one can sooner talk about the Croatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian "diaspora" in Croatia. The case is not that the Croats from Croatia have been, namely, emigrating for decades and centuries to Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Croats have been moving into today's Croatia on a massive scale.

Plebiscite or Annexation

By having given an opportunity to a couple of members of its party branch in Bosnia-Herzegovina to sit in the Croatian parliament, the Croatian Democratic Community has again exposed the rest of the Croatian people in that country to unforeseeable ordeals.

Weren't these elections some kind of pseudoplebiscite among the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats about who will represent them politically and where one will represent them, and, consequently, in which political community they will live?

Is this kind of procedure of some kind of political "annexation" of a part of the territory and citizens of a neighboring and, allegedly, friendly country?

How will that influence Croatian-Bosniak relations? Are we going to face a new political, and perhaps even military, tightening up of those relations? Or is it really possible that one takes such risks only because of some 10 party mandates?

The whole Croatian Democratic Community's political game with the real Croatian diaspora has been bluntly revealed by making public the list of potential voters with dual citizenship and without residence in the country. The mysterious "Zagreb Book" has shown that a stupefyingly small number of Croatian emigrants in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South America, and even in Europe, has got Croatian citizenship.

Although the authorities have claimed that they introduced the political representatives of the diaspora into the Parliament in order to repay their financial, political, and moral help to Croatia, it has turned out that this right would not be used by those who had been helping Croatia, but those for whom Croatia has literally provided sustenance for throughout the war, and still does. That existential dependence makes the rest of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina a prisoner of the present authority in Croatia. Therefore, also those for whom "humane resettlement" from central Bosnia and Bosnian Posavina in the new Croatian military border along Drvar, Mrkonjic-Grad, Sipovo, and Grahovo is being prepared by using subtle methods of pressure voted for the old-new ruling party.

The second overwhelming feature of these elections is the the ruling party's unprecedented pressure on all the areas and institutions of civilian society, and that society bending under that pressure.

The party in power has broken through into the economy, culture, sport, the post, education, church, show business, media.

Its control over certain spheres of civilian society has been symbolically manifested in public admissions of distinguished individuals in the ruling party.

"Starting Works"

The scenes we were watching during the election campaign unpleasantly reminded us of the time when the Communist Party did whatever it pleased and however it pleased.

Aggressively frequent ceremonies of "starting works," laying bedrocks, and cutting ribbons [at opening ceremonies] on the eve of voting was intended to create the impression that Croatia is in the middle of an economic miracle and that its creators are exactly those who have been waving the occasional scissors, picks, and trowels.

Thus, only two days before the voting, Dr. Mate Granic opened a telephone exchange in his constituency; Vladimir Seks turned on the gas pipeline in his; Nadan Vidosevic opened a rehabilitation center in his; Branko Miksa opened an art shop in the Zagreb Importanne shopping center, etc. Even Ivica Mudrinic had to leave his favorite activity, which is laying or switching on optical cables, to the Slavonski Brod-Posavina county ruler, who was the ruling party's candidate in Slavonski Brod.

All this, unfortunately, proves only that we live in the state economy in which the government directly runs the majority of the capital, jobs, and human destinies!

And unprecedented political lining up of the entertainers with the ruling party—in which a Toni Cetinski [popular singer] appears as a future faithful member of its youth organization who, presumably, will regularly attend evening meetings of its local branch—can largely be explained exactly with those reasons.

If the whole of Croatian Television has not even tried to conceal that it functions as the HDZ media election staff—it was, for instance, touching to see the TV falsification of the failed HDZ election meeting in Zagreb, when Dr Franjo Tudjman was defeated by a couple of Bad Blue Boys [former "Dinamo"—today "Croatia"—soccer fan club members]—then the fear of the entertainers that any distance from the authorities would bring them closer to the media, and thus also business, death, was justified.

Militarization of Politics

The third overwhelming feature of these elections was the transparent politicization of the army, the police, and, partially, the Church.

Generals at the ruling party's election meetings, generals as its election candidates, the state army actions used in its TV propaganda clips—the appearance of uniforms as one of the main symbols of the ruling party's whole election campaign indicates not only that an attempt is being made to subject the army to the political objectives of one party, but also that politics has slowly been "militarized."

This tendency could be the most dangerous for the development of democracy in Croatia. Even the most authoritarian regimes could tolerate to a certain degree the autonomy of the economy, but there has been no authoritarian dictatorship without a politicized army and militarized politics.

Not rarely, the Catholic Church has fallen into this dangerous scrape between the army and the ruling party. While the highest prelates enjoy wide respect for their promotion of the general ethical precepts of the Catholic Church in the worst conditions of war, its lower levels both in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are prone to becoming more involved in political life.

It is no secret at all that a part of local parish priests have used the church pulpits to give party and political instructions on the eve of the elections.

How, for instance, could it happen that Croatian Army generals made speeches at church opening ceremonies, as Mladen Markac did in this election campaign?

How could it happen that local parish priests make speeches in the HDZ election meetings, as happened in Kiseljak and elsewhere?

Such mobilization and use of the army, police, media, and entertainers as instruments has a big material, political, and moral price.

The HDZ has installed itself as the rich party of the poor voters. The political and moral price of the procedures and tendencies that have become transparent in this election campaign could turn into a long-term national credit with a high installment payments.

Gligorov Expected To Resume Work in Nov

AU0311182795 Paris AFP in English
1806 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Nov 3 (AFP)—Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov, severely wounded in a car-bomb attack last month, is expected to resume his duties before the end of November, medical sources close to the president said Thursday [3 November].

Gligorov, 78, has recovered "more rapidly than expected" from brain and eye surgery for injuries sustained in the October 3 bombing in downtown Skopje, the sources said.

Macedonian doctors, assisted by foreign surgeons, were able to release the president from hospital two weeks after the attack. Since then, Gligorov has been under 24-hour medical surveillance at his home in the Vodno district of the capital, where he has also moved his office.

Exactly one month after the bombing, the culprits have still not been identified. Last week, Macedonian Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski handed in his resignation after coming under sharp attack over his failure to advance the investigation and to adequately protect the head of state.

Before resigning, Frckovski said that a "multinational economic group" based in a neighboring country was responsible for the bombing, but would not identify the organization.

Two Greek newspapers, however, citing the Macedonian press, reported that the Bulgarian firm Multigroup was behind the attack, further asserting that the company's vice president, Dimitar Ivanov, had personally planted the bomb that nearly killed Gligorov.

Bulgarian Prime Minister Videnov denied last week the existence of a "Bulgarian connection." He said: "Such insinuations are without foundation and constitute a savage provocation against Bulgaria." Videnov called the charges a "filthy lie."

Local Multigroup Office Denies Link to Bombing

AU0311175695 Skopje MIC in English 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "Those are serious allegations. Something like that is far away from our line of business," Ivo Janchev, director of the representation office of the Bulgarian company "Multigroup" in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] said in relation to accusations that this company is involved in the assassination attempt on the Macedonian President.

In the statement for today's NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Ivo Janchev says that the problem lies in the fact that in the last couple of years, relations between Macedonia and Bulgaria have improved immensely, both on a political, diplomatic and business plan. "This development obviously doesn't suit someone. There is some logic in all of that."

"Incredible things are being written about 'Multigroup'. As a structure, it has a large number of offices not only in Macedonia, but in at least 30 cities throughout the world. That is in line with our business interests. We trade. 'Multigroup' deals exclusively with trade, and of course, financial-credit business relations, etc. We don't have any connection with any political parties in Macedonia," MAKPRESS reports Janchev's statement for NOVA MAKEDONIJA."

Nikolaj Vulkanov, vice-president of "Multigroup" told NOVA MAKEDONIJA today, categorically dismissing all speculation about the corporation's involvement in the attack on Gligorov, that "We started working with Macedonia a long time ago and we give out credits to Macedonian state firms. 'Multigroup' has business partners, it has mixed companies and business relations with the leading countries in the world and in Macedonia, as well. Only to mention a few: 'Gaspromet' from Russia, 'Tisen,' 'Siemens,' and many other organizations. 'Multigroup' was the first to start giving out financial and commodities credits to 'Fenimak'. At that time, government delegations of Bulgaria and Macedonia discussed opening a commodities credit line. Even though that line was not realized, 'Multigroup' reacted in its own way. In 1993 we supplied one million fresh money [currency not specified] for 'Fenimak' and commodities as well. The whole technology in the mine, the machines and reserve parts, all came from Bulgaria, and we took them to Macedonia, to the mine R'zhanovo. All the materials were delivered to Macedonia, charging only for the transport costs. We haven't made any speculative deals. From 1993 to 1995, 'Multigroup' has been approving credits and providing direct financing of 'Fenimak' then, it founded 'Balkan Bank,' in order to help the credit business connections between Macedonia and Bulgaria, etc. Meanwhile, other 'Multigroup' structures are formed in the Republic of Macedonia. From this year, we are taking part in another object, the railroad track Skopje-Deve Bair-Bulgaria. It will continue through Burgas to Istanbul, which was confirmed at the presidential summit in New York. We are working together with 'Pelagonija', the Macedonian construction giant. We also do business with 'Makpetrol', which gives us guarantees for the import of petrol, as well as 'Makmetal'."

Commentary Views Tetovo Students' Expectations

AU0311104395 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 27 Oct 95 pp 21-22

[Commentary by Natasa Dokovska: "Lost Generation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A group of journalists visited the locations in which the so-called Tetovo university continues its activities, that is Mala Recica, where, according to what the "university" leadership claims, 1,254 students are being taught every day. However, Fadil Sulejmani, the self-proclaimed president of the university, politely refused to talk to the journalists because, as he said, they "are to be blamed for the nondefined status of the university, which is a reality that Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has to face." On the other hand, the other people were ready to discuss matters with the journalists. The students, for instance, do not doubt that their diplomas will be recognized in four years. They also hope that if their diplomas are not recognized by the Macedonian authority, they will finish the eighth semester in Tirana and graduate either there, or at Bonn University, which has allegedly recognized the "university" in Mala Recica. However, they also say that Macedonia will be obliged to certify their diplomas. Some of them claim that the "university" has already been recognized because the certificates are valid for the Defense Ministry as they are accepted for postponement of military service (Defense Ministry officially and categorically denies this).

PULS comments that the students are not aware of being manipulated and of running the risk of becoming a lost generation. Although the new law on university education allows the formation of private universities only in Macedonian and on the previous approval of the government, there is a possibility of using the minorities' language in some subjects concerning national and cultural identity. However, there is no such possibility for other situations, and, therefore, Sulejmani is unrealistic in his expectations, because the "graduates" from Tetovo "university" will not be able to demonstrate their knowledge outside this institution. Furthermore, it is said that the university is financed by donations from citizens who also offer their houses for the university activities, as well as from donations of private companies owned by Albanians.

Rector's House Demolished

AU0311201495 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The family house under construction of the rector of the University of Tetova [Tetovo], Dr. Fadil Sulejmani, was pulled down today in the morning in Tetova, the second biggest town in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Local authorities backed by 100 armed policemen were involved in the pulling down of the house, reports said. The action was abrupt and unannounced, although the house was being built in harmony with an urban development plan adopted earlier this year by the municipal assembly of Tetova. This FYROM authorities move is seen as a retaliatory act against Dr. Sulejmani, who has stood in front of the Albanian-medium University, which has been branded "illegal" by the Macedonian regime.

Joint PDP-NDP Parliamentary Group Formed

LD0311215095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 3 Nove (SRNA)—Deputies of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP], which rallies Albanians in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], and the National Democratic Party [Narodna demokratska partija; NDP] have formed a joint deputies' group in the Macedonian Assembly.

"The new parliamentary group is a result of a joint agreement between the two parties and the hitherto cooperation between PDP and NDP deputies," a statement issued by the new parliamentary group says. The statement is carried by the MAKPRES news agency. [passage omitted]

Rahmi Tuda was elected the coordinator of the PDP and NDP parliamentary group, with a one-year mandate. [passage omitted]

Walesa Sends Condolences to Israeli President

LD0511124395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1113 GMT 5 Nov 95

[Letter of condolence from Polish President Lech Walesa to Israeli President Ezer Weizman on the occasion of the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 5 Nov—"His Excellency Mr. Ezer Weizman, the president of the state of Israel

"Shocked by the tragic death of Mr. Yitzhaq Rabin, prime minister of the state of Israel, on behalf of the Polish nation and myself, I would like to express sincere sadness and deep sympathy.

"Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin has a lasting place in the history of the modern world as a statesman who understood that there is no more important matter for a nation than the prospect of living in peace and who spared no efforts to achieve that aim. For these outstanding achievements, the international community bestowed the Nobel Peace Prize on him.

"The Jewish nation in its history has passed on to the world the wisdom of the saying: Who saves one life, saves the whole world. This moral message also means that whoever makes an attempt on one life does this as a challenge to the entire world. This should be a warning to anyone who enters the path of evil through hatred and fanaticism. I am convinced and deeply believe that this tragic death not only will not threaten the continuation of the peace process in the Middle East, but also will become a moral obligation for all Arabs and Jews to reach reconciliation.

"With the death of Yitzhaq Rabin we have also lost an ardent advocate of friendship between our nations and of founding this friendship on the basis of mutual understanding and comprehensive cooperation between Poland and Israel.

"Mr. President, I would like to assure you that the Polish nation will preserve the memory of the late Yitzhaq Rabin as a faithful son of the Jewish nation and an eminent statesman.

"Please bestow my condolences also to the wife and family of the late Yitzhaq Rabin.

[Signed] "Lech Walesa, president of the Polish Republic"

Oleksy To Represent Poland at Funeral

LD0511122395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, after a conversation with President Lech Walesa, has announced that Poland will be represented at the funeral of the Israeli prime minister in Jerusalem by the head of our government [Oleksy].

Roundup of Warsaw Press on Election Results

WS0611131195

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 6 November the major Warsaw vernacular dailies comment on the first-round results of the presidential elections.

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA, a centrist newspaper of record, publishes on page 3 a 400-word commentary by Chief Editor Dariusz Fikus entitled "The Second Round." Fikus points out that "the result did not come as a surprise to us. We could, and in the second round we will be able to, choose between Lech Walesa's experience and Aleksander Kwasniewski's dynamism. It was a choice between the post-Polish People's Republic [PRL] left wing and an equally strong camp grouped around Solidarity. Thus, the electorate in Poland split into two camps, and the division has now become more evident." The RZECZPOSPOLITA chief editor predicts that "such a division into two camps will most probably be seen in the second round of the elections, when the two most serious contenders for the presidency compete with each other. The final victory will be decided by the votes of those who voted for candidates other than Lech Walesa and Aleksander Kwasniewski in the first round; it will depend on whom they decide to back in the second round." Fikus also comments on the election campaign, which, "despite earlier announcements, was neither very sharp nor destructive. Perhaps this is an achievement of our democracy, an experience that makes this campaign different from the previous fight for the presidency." He concludes with the statement that "everything seems to indicate that we have made yet another step forward on the road to the construction of a democratic state."

Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA, a left of center independent daily, carries a front-page, 250-word editorial by Chief Editor Adam Michnik entitled "Serious Candidates, Although Not Mine." Michnik writes that he "could never get over Mazowiecki's failure in the previous presidential elections," adding that he "will never get over Jacek Kuron's failure in these elections. For the second time Poland has lost an opportunity to have a president of credibility and wisdom, of courage and agreement. However, these elections differ from those held five years ago quite fundamentally. There was less brutality, fewer empty promises." Michnik acknowledges that "elected to the second round were two serious candidates. One may not approve of their platforms, but the achievements and qualities of both of them are undeniable. Thus, Poland became a politically predictable country." The GAZETA WYBORCZA chief editor concludes that "the government and the parliament are in the hands of political circles related to the Democratic Left Alliance and Aleksander Kwasniewski. Polls show that the public do not want the entirety of political life to be dominated by this political camp. Therefore, now Lech Walesa seems to be the favorite, even though many of his critics will vote for him without enthusiasm and many will boycott the second round."

In his front-page, 300-word editorial in Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a centrist independent paper, entitled "What Poland," Chief Editor Tomasz Wolek points out that the elections spell out "not only a choice between Lech Walesa and Aleksander Kwasniewski. In fact, it is a choice between two fundamentally different visions of Poland." He notes that "in fact the choice boils down to the following:

"Do we want a Poland where, behind a democratic facade, monopolistic—political and financial—power would once again be in the hands of 'the leading force,' a Poland tied by a web of the same configurations and the same people?

"Or do we want a Poland in which citizens' rights and equality of opportunity are guaranteed by political pluralism and balance of powers? A Poland that slowly, yet smoothly and surely, step by step, strengthens its independence and democracy?"

Summing up, Wolek writes that "there can only be only Poland. Soon we will find out what Poland it will be. We have a free choice."

Warsaw NOWA EUROPA, a daily dealing primarily with financial issues, carries a 150-word page 1 untitled editorial by Chief Editor Andrzej Krzysztof Wroblewski. Wroblewski notes that "we will not hit the headlines of foreign newspapers. Fortunately, Poles turned out to be predictable, reasonable, and, therefore, not very attractive." This, he writes, was "a vital step toward the so-called normalcy." Wroblewski predicts that "regardless of who—Kwasniewski or Walesa—wins the elections, the climate for business activity will remain more or less as it is now."

Warsaw TRYBUNA, a leftist daily supporting Kwasniewski for president, publishes a front-page, 300-word commentary by Chief Editor Dariusz Szymczycha under the "100 Words" rubric. Szymczycha admits that "both Aleksander Kwasniewski and Lech Walesa achieved success: Kwasniewski because he evidently increased the electorate sympathizing with the Democratic Left Alliance—the leftist candidate was supported by four times more people than in the previous presidential elections—and Walesa because he moved forward like a tank and was able to regain the electorate that backed him five years ago." Szymczycha predicts that "there will be attempts to frighten people with the PRL, Moscow, small-town comrades. However, these substitute subjects will not obscure the real alternative." The TRYBUNA chief editor goes on to present alternatives different from the one outlined by the ZYCIE WARSZAWY chief editor: "On 19 November it will turn out what most voters feel closer to—a democratic legal state or a state governed with decrees, cooperation among state authorities or destructive wars at the top." Szymczycha points out at the end that Aleksander Kwasniewski "offers a definitely greater chance for a presidency of wisdom, rationality, and agreement than does Lech Walesa. It is enough to compare the political styles, statements, and actions of these politicians in recent years."

Kwasniewski Wins Elections in 15 Provinces

LD0611084895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0800 GMT 6 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A summing up of the results in 18 provincial electoral commissions in the first round of the presidential elections shows that the largest number of votes have gone to Aleksander Kwasniewski, with Lech Walesa in second place.

Aleksander Kwasniewski won in 15 provinces and Lech Walesa in three. Aleksander Kwasniewski received the most votes—46.7 percent—in Leszno Province. The largest number of voters supported Lech Walesa in Rzeszow Province, where 49 percent voted for him.

The turnout in 18 provinces was more than 65 percent. [passage omitted]

Walesa Comments on Election Results

LD0511222595 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2130 GMT 5 Nov 95

[News conference given by Polish President Lech Walesa for unidentified journalists in his election headquarters in Warsaw on the evening of 5 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Reporter] At 2020, President Walesa was still in the lead in the results poll. [video shows Walesa picking up a microphone and addressing journalists]

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, these are not official results so I will not comment on them. I just want to thank all those who helped me bring about this result. After five years of difficult reforms, this is a really good result. Today, the effects are a bit lower than could have been expected. But other things happened that were unexpected: We delight in the freedom of the countries of the former Soviet Union, we are happy with the unification of Germany. Yes, but all of this has economic consequences. And we thought that freedom, this beautiful freedom of Solidarity would bring results immediately. It would have brought such results but for those things that damaged our economy.

I am convinced that the second term of office will have fewer errors and that after this lesson that I received when touring Poland I will draw some conclusions, and so will you. Thank you very much. [applause]

[Journalist] Could you comment on the defeat of Mrs. Gronkiewicz-Waltz?

[Walesa] It is difficult to say. I did not conduct a negative campaign. I think that Hania [diminutive of Hanna] is still young enough to play some kind of major role in Poland.

[Journalist] Are you scared of a television debate with Aleksander Kwasniewski?

[Walesa] I have already said what I am afraid of: God and nobody else. I am not afraid of any games. [applause] Quite the contrary, the slogan of Mr. Kwasniewski [On to the Future] is quite wrong for his situation. Perhaps I started touring Poland two weeks too late. I failed to reverse the lies he told about me. I failed to show what great work I did for Poland, and I did not make a big thing of it. I needed just two weeks more to reverse those lies, and then we would have had just one round of elections.

[Journalist] Are you looking for votes in the second round?

[Walesa] There were 13 of us. The Freedom-Solidarity camp provided a few candidates, and I think these votes will now unite into one voice. I have no doubt about it. And I will have some more time to explain, particularly to the young people, that my program and my errors had good reasons. [applause]

[Journalist] You said that in the second term of office you will be a team player. Is this your team?

[Walesa] Of course not, this is not the whole team. I always keep my word. This time we really have enough time for a team game. We must expand the team, we have to do it together, the freedom camp, the trade union camp on some subjects, Solidarity and others on other topics. We must go together because Poland needs strength and wisdom. My slogan is therefore current again: I want to be wise with your wisdom and strong with your strength. This is really essential now. [applause]

Kwasniewski Hails Election Result

LD0511231595 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2142 GMT 5 Nov 95

[Statement to journalists by Polish Democratic Left Alliance presidential candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski, followed by an interview with correspondent Grezegorz Miecugow in Kwasniewski election headquarters in Warsaw—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Miecugow] Sincere greetings from Rozbrat Street in Warsaw, where there are to be found not only the electoral staff of Aleksander Kwasniewski, but also the staff of the Democratic Left Alliance. [loud shouts and applause]

That applause that you can hear, ladies and gentlemen, is in honour of Aleksander Kwasniewski, who has at this moment, for the first time, appeared here, in this hall. Everyone has been waiting since 2000 for Aleksander Kwasniewski, the leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, to come to the hall, and only now, precisely, has he entered. A crowd of journalists, crowds of close collaborators of Aleksander Kwasniewski, almost the entire government, and precisely Aleksander Kwasniewski, who is now to make a statement to the press.

[Kwasniewski] Can we start now? Good evening, everybody. Ladies and gentlemen, all of you who voted for me today, 5 November, I say to you good evening and sincere, sincere thanks! [prolonged applause]

Thank you very much. [prolonged appluse]

Thank you, thank you, thank you. Thanks. This was, this was, ladies and gentlemen, this was, ladies and gentlemen, an important day. Today we elected the future and we made a very important, strong, clear step toward that future. For that, I express enormous gratitude to all Poles, all my electors and sympathizers. The election of the future does not mean that we do not remember about the past. We remember about that which was good and that which was bad. And just as I said in this campaign, I repeat once more, let us be capable of continuing that which is the common attainment of millions of honest Poles. And let us reject all that which was a crime, an atrocity, which was the worst historical experience. And this has no right to repeat itself under any kind of banner.

We have chosen, we have made the first step in choosing the future, but before us is a debate between the main candidates. I call upon President Lech Walesa for Polish public opinion to be able to hear on television what programs we have, what intentions we have, what divides us, and how we want to run Polish matters over the coming five years. What I am proposing to Poles, what I am proposing for Poland is more democracy, a new constitution, economic development, to deal with the Polish plagues of unemployment and poverty. This is a concern for people and for pensioners, and for Polish farmers, and for young people. This is creating for these people equal chances and comprehensible, accepted prospects.

This offer, which I have proposed and which I propose, is a place for Poland in Europe and in the world that is in accordance with our ambitions, those of a 40-million-strong nation in the center of Europe. And thus, writing Poland into the structures of the European Union and guaranteeing security through presence in the North Atlantic Pact. What I propose is political culture, which will be the main motif of our discussions, the style in which we will run them. Not insults, not lies, not brutality, but precisely arguments, and thus dialogue and openness to the voices of those who do not necessarily think the same way as we do. I would like it if on 19 November, precisely, such a concept of Poland is chosen by the majority of electors. I am convinced, after the results today, results that are much better than I had hoped, I say this most sincerely—never before has a representative of our political formation been able to enjoy support of over 30 percent. But I believe that this is not the end of this support, that we can expect the votes, sympathy, and favor of those who think the same way and who want to choose precisely such a better future for Poland together with us.

I want to thank those rivals who used substantive arguments in the presidential campaign. I think that this also raises our political condition to a higher level, our style, in which we discuss the most important affairs of Poland and Poles. I wish to thank Mr. Jacek Kuron, whom I personally value very much, and for whose achievements I have a great respect. I am convinced that together with these people, coming from the former opposition, from the Solidarity camp, we can also create this Poland in common.

I thank Professor Tadeusz Zielinski for the style in which we discussed the various affairs of our country. I am convinced that more unites us than divides us.

And I also express the conviction that Mr. Lech Walesa will wish to seriously talk about Poland in the course of the television debates, to talk about Poland in a language that is comprehensible, that we will give Poles offers and proposals and programs that...[interrupted by prolonged applause]

I address, I make use of this exceptional occasion to address the people of the Polish Peasant Party, with whom we have formed a coalition for two years now. This coalition has already done a lot. This election result, which we can enjoy together, also contains the merits of sometimes small, sometimes large steps made with great difficulty by this coalition and by this government. I am therefore appealing to them: Let us not waste this chance, the chance of fulfilling our electoral promises and realizing the program that we presented to the public in 1993.

I want to say this today: Let us choose the future together, let us chose a good future for our Poland. Thank you. [applause]

[Grzegorz Miecugow] You said a moment ago that the results are much better than expected. Is that really so?

[Kwasniewski] Yes, this is the case. For many months the media have been trying to tell me that our electorate is exhausted, that we will not get more than 20-25 percent, so this result is really excellent. It shows that my electorate, the electorate of the program I represent is much bigger than expected, these are new people...

[Miecugow, interrupting] You had better forecasts.

[Kwasniewski] In which poll?

[Miecugow] Better in the context of your competitors being further behind you.

[Kwasniewski] I think that here you can only speak of a good result for Lech Walesa who gained the votes of Mrs Gronkiewicz-Waltz, who, until recently, seemed like a serious contender. Some contenders withdrew at the final stage, which gave him a boost. As far as my result is concerned, I am very pleased with it. This result denies the claims about the dying-out electorate and about the exhausted voters. The program that is proposed by me appeals to many people. I am pleased with results from among the young people, the results in the countryside. I think that these are completely new elements about which we could not have spoken in 1993.

[Miecugow] Is it true that you are now going to see Mr. Tadeusz Zielinski?

[Kwasniewski] I do not know about now, but I hope to see him soon.

[Miecugow] Are you after his votes?

[Kwasniewski] No, I simply want to talk to a man I respect and who I think has some ideas to do with this campaign and the issues we should resolve together—I stress together.

[Miecugow] Are you planning to meet Jacek Kuron?

[Kwasniewski] I hope Jacek Kuron will have nothing against a chat, and as he often put it, a debate on specific points. Such a meeting would be of interest to me.

Sejm Speaker on Election Results, Peasant Party

WS0611124595 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 6 Nov 95 p 2

[Statement by Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, published in an untitled report: "First Opinions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I am not surprised. As far as Waldemar Pawlak's position is concerned, I said that th results of opinion polls would be true only when our voters actually went out to the polls. We expected, to be sure, better results. However, I was aware of the people's expectations regarding our candidate. The real problem for the Polish Peasant Party is how to act in the second round. After that, the issue of leadership will come up one day.

Walesa Seeks Challenge to Kwasniewski's 'Impudence'

LD0611100995 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0900 GMT 6 Nov 95

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by correspondent Jolanta Kucharska on 6 November; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kucharska] Aleksander Kwasniewski has challenged you to a television debate. He did not invite you, he did not propose it, but he challenged you. How did you take this challenge?

[Walesa] Well, of course, I will do likewise. I too will challenge him in a similar way. Right now I am looking for a proposal to balance his impudence.

[Kucharska] Kwasniewski also said he wanted to talk with you about programs so that the Poles could find out the differences in your programs. He also used the expression that he would like you, Mr. President, to speak a comprehensible language.

[Walesa] We can talk about the program. It is just that we have to remind them that it can no longer be so, the program of the left and of Kwasniewski. So, let him first of all think about his own program and about what he wants to continue to propose, but so that it is realistic and possible to check, to carry out. But it is true, we have to talk about the program, about Poland. I do not avoid such discussions.

[Kucharska] You said you were looking for an answer to Kwasniewski's impudence. Does that mean this will be a television debate, or are you, Mr. President, going to propose a different form of debate, or are you two gentlemen not going to meet at all?

[Walesa] I do not know. I am considering all sorts of possibilities. I like to meet, depending on the attractiveness of such a debate, I will make a decision. If it is going to be profitable for Poland, if it is worth it, rather than just nonsense, then of course I will take part in it.

Walesa Sees 'Difficult Years' Ahead

LD0511211795 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2100 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the announcement of the preliminary results of the first round of presidential elections, President Lech Walesa issued a statement. It reads, in part:

Difficult years are ahead for Poland, many efforts and dangers. The president of the Polish Republic can and must give a pledge that he will ensure stability for Poland, but he cannot promise the Poles an easy calm.

Lech Walesa has won in most of the foreign election stations. He was first in the United States, Australia, Japan, Kazakhstan, Mexico, and Belarus.

Zych Not To Disclose Oleksy, Kwasniewski Finances

WS0311154695 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by "JACH": "Speaker Will Not Reveal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych refused to present Jozef Oleksy's and Aleksander Kwasniewski's financial disclosures; the reason for that was the fact that the disclosures are professional secrets. He added that he would disclose them only if a public prosecutor's office or a court of law demands this.

In line with the so-called anti-corruption law, financial dislosures can be made known if their authors consent to that (Article 6, Item 2 of the Law on Limiting Business Activity in Cases of People Holding Public Office). The speaker would also have to reveal such disclosures if a public prosecutor's office or a court of law instituted criminal or tax-penal proceedings against the Sejm deputies who submitted them, we were told yesterday by Ryszard Kucinski, spokesman of the Warsaw Public Prosecutor's Office.

Last week ZYCIE WARSZAWY reported that Kwasniewski's and Oleksy's wives own shares of the Polisa Insurance Company, whose shareholders are also institutions managing public money. GAZETA WYBORCZA called upon Kwasniewski and Oleksy to disclose their financial disclosure statements deposited in Speaker Zych's office.

Neither one has presented his financial disclosure. Maria Oleksy gave assurances that her husband had included in the disclosure the fact that they own the shares. Kwasniewski said that he does not remember whether he mentioned the Polisa company in his disclosure. He claimed that early this year he had had a notary perform the "partition of their joint property"; however, he did not present the document.

NBP President Back at Work; Views Elections

LD0611121595 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1052 GMT 6 Nov 95

[Telephone interview with Polish National Bank President Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz by an unidentified correspondent on 6 November—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] We have Mrs. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz on the line. Good morning.

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] Good morning. Greetings.

[Correspondent] Are you working today as the president of the National Bank of Poland [NBP], with no more leave?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] My leave ended on Friday, on Saturday, and at the moment I am at work. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Madam president, an hour and a half ago President Lech Walesa said that you should cease to be the president of the NBP, like the ombudsman should cease to be ombudsman, and that, in this situation, in view of your participation in the elections, you should engage in political activity.

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] I think there is no ban anywhere that says that because an institution is neutral and acted thus during the campaign—I have proved that—on the other hand there is no political head of any institution because the head is always a political appointee. I am the so-called Solidarity head, let us put it like that. I was appointed to the post of NBP president from that option, and because there is no ban of this kind [word indistinct] when there is, then the president at the time or some other person will make the decision. [passage omitted]...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Madam president, this is from the point of view of the formalities, but I would have expected a more human response from you, whether at the moment you are engaged in political activity, as the only woman to run in the elections.

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] I think the creation, as I have said, of a center right is not inevitable...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Jan Olszewski says the same thing. Will you create it together or separately?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] I think we have a completely different economic program, above all.

[Correspondent] Who would you link up with?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] I think first and foremost with those groups that supported me as regards political backup. This is, on the one hand, Christian Democracy, the Labor Party, and, on the other, the Conservative Party and the Christian Peasant Party. These parties have a similar program, all in all. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Finally, please tell us who you will be voting for in the second round, and will you be taking part in the elections?

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] Definitely not for Aleksander Kwasniewski, but as I said yesterday, I will issue a statement, a kind of communique, about my political backing after the formal announcement of the election results, which, as I see in PAP, are changing every minute, so this will be on Wednesday, more or less.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] Thank you.

[Correspondent] That was the only female presidential candidate, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

[Gronkiewicz-Waltz] Thank you. Good-bye.

Three Polls on 2d Round of Elections Compared

WS0611113295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik: "CBOS, OBOP, RUN—A Triple Second Round or GAZETA WYBORCZA's Political Fiction; Walesa Victorious?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The most recent opinion poll, carried out three days before the elections, shows that Lech Walesa stands a bigger chance of becoming president in the second round.*

Is this a lasting trend? A lot may yet happen between rounds. A television debate between the two candidates is still to come.

Two weeks before the first round of elections we commissioned polls on the second round in three polling centers: the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS], the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP], and RUN [expansion unknown]. None of the centers knew they would be asking people the same question: "Who will you vote for in the second round if Aleksander Kwasniewski and Lech Walesa run against each other?"

OBOP: Kwasniewski 46, Walesa 44

The first poll was carried out by OBOP on 24 October.

Probably not all those eligible will vote, so we counted only the responses of those who have already made a firm decision to go to the ballot box. OBOP noted a slight advantage of Kwasniewski over Walesa—46 percent to 44 percent. This means that their chances are equal. In addition, OBOP investigated how those who voted neither for Walesa nor for Kwasniewski in the first round would behave in the second.

It turns out that Walesa will be supported primarily by the backers of Leszek Moczulski (48 percent for Walesa, 16 percent for Kwasniewski), Jan Olszewski (58 percent and 19 percent, respectively), and Janusz Korwin-Mikke (46 percent and 29 percent, respectively). Kwasniewski, on the other hand, will gain votes in the second round primarily from the supporters of Andrzej Lepper (48 percent for Kwasniewski and 38 percent for Walesa), Waldemar Pawlak (55 percent and 29 percent), Jan Pietrzak (58 percent and 42 percent) and Tadeusz Zielinski (57 percent and 22 percent). The constituency of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz will split into three equal parts: 32 percent will vote for Kwasniewski, 35 percent for Walesa, and 33 percent will not vote at all. The distribution of these electorates, however, does not have any practical significance because these candidates barely have several percent of support.

Far more important is the behavior of those who voted for Jacek Kuron because he is the only one (apart from the top two) to have netted approximately 10 percent of support. OBOP analyses show that his constituency will split into three equal groups: 34 percent will vote for Kwasniewski, 32 percent for Walesa, and 34 percent will not vote.

CBOS: Walesa 48, Kwasniewski 46

One week before the first round, on Sunday, 29 October, CBOS asked the question about the second round. Walesa pulled slightly ahead with 48 percent, as compared with Kwasniewski's 46 percent.

The duel between these two candidates attracts the greatest attention of voters. Only 10 percent declare they will boycott the elections if this pair meets in the second round. If, for example, Kwasniewski competed for the presidential office with Pawlak, 21 percent would not vote.

Despite what the press—left and right—is writing, a mere 4 percent would cross both Walesa and Kwasniewski off the list to demonstrate that a choice between the two is no choice at all. If Kwasniewski stood opposite Pawlak, 12 percent would vote for neither.

RUN: Walesa 51, Kwasniewski 4

RUN carried out a poll three days before the elections, after the media had already publicized the fact that the wives of Aleksander Kwasniewski and Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy hold huge stakes in Polisa (we do not know what impact this had on voter behavior).

RUN shows the advantage of Walesa over Kwasniewski to be even larger: 51 percent as compared with 44 percent.

Three Polls

	Kwasniewski	Walesa
	Percent	
OBOP, 24 Oct 95	46	44
CBOS, 29 Oct 95	46	48
RUN, 2 Nov 95	44	51

* * *

The OBOP poll was carried out on 24 October on a representative sample group of 1,145 adult Poles;

The CBOS poll was carried out on 29 October on a representative sample group of 1,281 adult Poles;

The RUN poll was carried out on 2 November on a representative sample group of 989 adult Poles.

Polling Experts Comment

WS0611135995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Nov 95 p 3

[Commentary by Head of the Public Opinion Research Center Lena Kolarska-Bobinska: "A Real Fight Only in the Second Round"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The initial election results conform with all of the trends registered by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS]. Support for Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Tadeusz Zielinski was waning.

With each consecutive poll, it substantially grew in the case of Lech Walesa. The results of the first round thus do not come as a surprise.

The second round, according to the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP], CBOS, and RUN, will reflect the growing support for Lech Walesa that was witnessed before the first round. The real fight, however, will be waged only in the second round. Once only two candidates are left, the voters will watch them far more attentively.

In the first round, some people employed the tactic of voting for Walesa in the belief that he stood the largest chance of beating Kwasniewski. In the second round, the number of "tactical votes" will grow considerably, primarily to Walesa's benefit. Furthermore, those voters who did not approve of his policies may support him. One week before the first round, for instance, half of Jacek Kuron's constituency and 60 percent of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz's supporters wanted to vote for Walesa in the second round. Kwasniewski's "reserves" are smaller, although he will be supported by part of these electorates.

The simple division into the Solidarity camp and the postcommunist left will discourage people with a higher education from taking part in the second round because they cannot accept this division. Voters who identify themselves with the post-Solidarity camp but do not approve of Walesa will also stay home.

However, the division may activate large numbers with a lower education because it makes it easier for them to understand the complexity of the political situation. This will also generate more votes for Walesa because he is supported by a huge group of people with a lower education and the less politically aware.

Thus, the battle will be waged for those who are undecided whether to take part in the second round and those who are still undecided about who to vote for. Walesa's chances are better because he is the incumbent president. One week before the first round, 50 percent of those undecided declared their willingness to vote for Walesa, whereas a mere 27 percent for Kwasniewski.

In the first round, Walesa took away votes from other candidates, while Kwasniewski's constituency was more or less stable. Now the time has come for Kwasniewski to secure greater support.

[Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish on 6 November on page three carries a 700-word interview with Radoslaw Markowski from CBOS by Monika Sarnecka. Markowski reiterates the points made by Kolarska-Bobinska. He also points out: "The problem on the Polish political scene is that there are no real rightist parties. If you add the number of votes cast for the various 'rightist' candidates, you get a constituency of 30-40 percent. The thing is, however, that even if the right does unite these votes will not add up. I cannot see how the supporters of the Party for Real Politics could join forces with the Confederation for an Independent Poland—they represent completely different visions of the state and the economy. Or how backers of the Christian-National Union would agree to be in the same party with the Center Accord."]

Church Leader Views 2d Round of Elections

LD0511204395 Warsaw PAP in Polish
2013 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 5 Nov—Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, secretary general of the Polish Episcopate, has said that the second round of the presidential elections will be a clash of two worlds—that of communism and of Solidarity. The Episcopate secretary expressed this view today in an interview with a PAP journalist, immediately after the preliminary results of the first round of the elections were announced.

"The clash that will come about in two weeks' time will be similar to the one in 1989, when two forces faced each other, one of which represented a world that was collapsing—i.e., communism—and the other a world that had managed to defeat it—Solidarity," Bishop Pieronek said. He added that these were the two forces, although we cannot speak today "about pure communism" or "about Solidarity in its pure form."

The episcopate secretary said that "the elections have still not finally resolved who will be president, but they have shown certain voting trends. Now we have to wait and see how the votes cast for those other than the first two candidates are distributed and how the sympathies turn out on the right and on the left," Bishop Pieronek said. He stressed at the same time that it is still not completely clear.

When asked what a victory for Lech Walesa in the second round would mean for Poland and the church, the episcopate secretary said: "We cannot hand out diplomas or titles; we must wait and see what the voters say on 19 November."

Senate Rejects Walesa's Motion on Enfranchisement

WS0311154895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by "ORKA": "Senate Does Not Want Referendum on Enfranchisement; Coalition Gives Walesa a Punch"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the votes of the coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], the Senate rejected yesterday the president's ordinance to hold a referendum on mass enfranchisement of the citizens [to allow them to own national wealth assets].

Against the referendum were 32 SLD senators, 12 PSL senators, and one senator of the Union of Labor. The referendum was supported by 10 senators of Solidarity ["S"] and single representatives of six small parties.

If the Senate had backed Lech Walesa's motion, on 21 January the citizens would have decided whether or not enfranchisement should be carried out and how this should be done. The president's draft is in line with the conception of "S." "S" senators defended the idea of mass enfranchisement yesterday. A representative of the president was not present.

Opponents argued that enfranchisement must not be carried out as long as the State Treasury's assets, liabilities, and debts are not specified. Piotr Andrzejewski ("S") polemicized with this view: "Limiting the right to hold a referendum is tantamount to limiting the rights of the president and the citizens."

Wieslaw Kaczmarek (SLD) said: "A referendum on enfranchisement is a trap for the new president, regardless of who he is." According to Kaczmarek, mass enfranchisement is unrealistic, and one of the reasons for that is that there are too few assets fit for privatization.

PL '93 Head Stands by His 'Political Opinions'

AU0611074895 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 1 Nov 95 p 2

[Article by O. Iurascu: "Patriciu States He Is Ready To Face Jury"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Liberal Party '93 [PL '93] leader Dinu Patriciu said yesterday that he "would vote" in favor of having the immunity of PRM [Greater Romania Party] Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor lifted, even for no other reasons than because he had forwarded a penal complaint against Tudor three years ago.

Just like the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] representatives, who, on Monday [30 October] denied any similarity between the reasons the lifting of parliamentary immunity of PNTCD Deputy Cornel Sturza Popovici and of the PRM president were requested, Patriciu said yesterday that nobody can compare the "curses" of the PRM senator with the opinions freely expressed by him or by other party colleagues.

Patriciu, in whose case it is very likely that the proceedings for lifting parliamentary immunity will start soon because he had called the head of state a "criminal and traitor of the country," said yesterday that his accusations "are based on serious facts," which, therefore, are provable. "If these are not political opinions, but curses, I am ready to face the jury" said the liberal leader, who is convinced that the incriminating statements are just "political opinions."

Coposu's Condition 'Stationary, With Positive Signs'

AU0411195295 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference held a short while ago at the Bucharest University Hospital, Mr. Dan Georgescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Health, said that the clinical situation of Corneliu Coposu, leader of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], is stationary, with positive signs. The physician team is still requesting Mr. Coposu's medical files from the German hospitals, where he had been treated before. Another examination of the patient will take place tomorrow, around 0730 hours [0530 GMT], when further tests will be made. At this time, Dan Georgescu said, the PNTCD leader is under sedation and is capable of responding to stimuli—our correspondent Laurentiu Vaduva reports.

Tudor: Aide's Resignation 'Prearranged'

AU0311165095 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the opening of today's news conference of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the president of this political grouping, said that Mr. Mircea Hamza's resignation did not come as a surprise, and that the accusations brought by the former PRM vice president and spokesman are part of a prearranged scenario, since many of the party's press releases were written by Hamza himself.

Referring to an article in today's issue of daily ROMANIA LIBERA—published under the headline "Corneliu Vadim Tudor, Also Called the Godfather, Assures the Protection of Smugglers"—the party president said that, together with Stefan David, senator of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], he forwarded an official request to Division General George Ioan Danescu [deputy minister of interior] asking the police to carry out an urgent inquiry to clarify the situation and to exemplarily punish the professional criminals and slanderers involved in it.

In another order of idea, Mr. Tudor said that the PRM publicly condemns the ongoing cover up of the apartment affair [a corruption case involving former and current dignitaries, who allegedly took possession of state-owned houses] and calls upon all parliament members, ministers, presidential counselors, and other officials mentioned in the parliamentary report, not only to return their illegally obtained houses, but also to honorably resign from all public positions, our correspondent Tudor Stanciu reports.

Federal

Interior Minister: Peace of 'Crucial Importance'

LD0511173695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 5 Nov (SRNA)—Vukasin Jokanovic, federal interior affairs minister, said today that despite a whole series of negative developments, peace had been preserved in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and was of crucial importance for the security situation in the country.

Speaking in the "Hallmark of Times" on Radio Kragujevac, Jokanovic said that over the last few years there had been an increase in all types of crime in our country, and especially in the number of criminal acts involving firearms and the use of violence.

Various types of criminal acts are in evidence: crimes affecting private property and ownership transformation, corruption, racket and smuggling, Jokanovic said. As the main reasons for the situation he cited the violent secession, the war in the immediate neighborhood, sanctions, the large-scale migration to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of the population from the areas affected by war, and a considerable amount of illegally held weapons.

Minister Jokanovic described the situation in Kosovo-Metohija as "complex and burdened by difficulties of various nature" adding that the region posed "a long-term problem for both Serbia and Yugoslavia."

He said that the Republic of Serbia authorities were taking "measures of great significance" for both public peace and order and other areas and that "it can be said now that prerequisites are in place for linking Kosovo-Metohija with Serbia on a lasting basis."

He said that in Kosovo "there is no evidence of any more serious forms of violence on a larger scale" and that there are no interethnic conflicts there. He insisted that contacts and dialogue among the people of Kosovo had never ceased.

"Even though considerable divisions exist, contacts are still alive, earlier to a lesser and now to a higher degree," Jokanovic said. This comes as a result of the effective involvement of state bodies and institutions, but also of the "evident nervousness" among separatist leaders, primarily in the light of the fact that all important international players publicly said that these problems must be resolved within Serbia and Yugoslavia, and that efforts for an independent Kosovo have no chances of producing results, Jokanovic said.

"Therefore, advocates of radical methods of fighting have surfaced giving rise to armed attacks on police members," he added. Separatists are hoping—while the negotiations in Ohio are under way—to use their lobbies in the United States and elsewhere and contribute to the internationalization of the Kosovo issue, Minister Jokanovic said.

Commenting on complaints by some opposition leaders about "the police state," he said it was in the interest of both the citizens and the state that stable public peace and order exist, that constitutional order is protected, individual safety and that of their property is safeguarded, and therefore, it is necessary to have the sufficient number of people who will discharge these duties.

"Opposition parties would not be opposition parties if they did not criticize and attack the government," Jokanovic said, adding that goals of such attacks are of a "petty political nature." [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Documents Croat 'Genocide'

LD0311174295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 3 (TANJUG)—A memorandum issued by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and sent to all members of the United Nations last week, so far gives the most complete picture about the genocide character of the crimes against the Serb people committed by the Croatian authorities since 1991 and warns that the aim of the 'brutal aggression' are both territories and the civilian population.

'Croatia has been ethnically cleansed,' the document said describing the outcome of Franjo Tudjman's aggression on Western Slavonia and Krajina within the U.N. Protected Areas (UNPAS) West, North and South.

'Croatia, by its aggression and the consequent exodus of the Serbs, has created a state which is now formally invoking the calls for the revision and annulment of the constitutional rights enjoyed by the Serbs so far, reducing them to the status of a minor ethnic community doomed to disappear altogether from these parts in the forseeable future,' the document said.

The memorandum gives a very detailed and fully substantiated description of the conscious and planned execution of civilians, massacres, burnings, all forms of the obliteration of the Serb people and the destruction of their property in regions populated by them for centuries and where they have now been exposed to racist extermination similar to that during World War Two during the 'Independent State of Croatia (NDH)'.

'In the aggression of the Croatian army on UNPA Sector West (Western Slavonia) on May 1, 1995, according to data established to date, over 3,300 Serb civilians were executed and 20,000 Serbs were expelled from this area in the process,' the memorandum said.

The bombing of a column of 2,000 Serb refugees near Nova Varos, the massacres of mainly women, children and old people near Novska, the extermination of entire families, the destruction of 9,000 houses, the expulsion of all orthodox bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church—all these somber data published in the memorandum weigh heavily on the conscious [as received] of U.N. forums and western media of which some have concealed the consequences of the mass crimes against the Serbs in Croatia.

The memorandum gives precise and horrendously detailed data about the biggest exodus in Europe's recent history during the Aug. 4 aggression on Krajina. 'The attack, which aimed to obliterate or expell the Serb population, was carried out with a force numbering 100,000 troops and 50,000 members of the police,' the memorandum said.

'By setting up an information barrier, limiting the movement of representatives of international organizations, by the systematic burning of the people killed and their burial in unmarked mass graves, and by washing the roads of blood, Croatia sought to remove the traces of its massive crimes,' the Yugoslav foreign minister said on some 20 pages.

The memorandum said that in a report from September this year, 'Amnesty International' said that it has been established that Croatian armed forces were executing Serbs from Krajina without a trial which, together with all other forms of systematically executed crimes, represents 'a form of collective punishment of the Serbs in that area with a view of deterring them from returning.'

'Captured Serbs were used as a human shield by the Croatian army, and this was even done with 11 senior citizens from the retarded persons home near Topusko,' the document said.

'Over 70 percent of Serbian houses were destroyed or burned down by the time of elaboration of this memorandum,' the document said.

Then follows a list of destruction, burning and the total looting of Knin, the destruction of Petrinja, Glina, Topusko, the burning of villages and the organized looting of trains.

The memorandum quoted the spokeswoman for the U.N. peace force hqs in Belgrade, Susanna Manuel, who stated on Sept. 27, 1995 that of the total of 240 Serb villages in the former Sector South, 73 percent of the buildings had been burnt down.

The document contains a separate chapter on the seizure of property and the prevention of the return of Serbs, which caused Croatia to adopt a regulation on the temporary possession and management of specified property, whereby it, in effect, confiscated all real estate from hundreds of thousands of Serbs expelled from Krajina and parts of Croatia. The memorandum, which unequivocally reveals the real face of the Croatian democracy, until recently highly praised in the west, said that the new regulations openly show the Serbs in Croatia that they cannot count on the possibility of a speedy organized return to Krajina.

Another chapter in the memorandum deals with the condemnations of Croatia by international factors. One of the few adequate reactions to Croatia's genocide activities is a report by the European Union monitoring mission which accuses Croatia of 'deliberate hostile operations characterized by killings, the burning of houses and the looting of the property of the remaining Serbs and of preventing all those who had fled in the course of Operation Storm from returning to the area.'

The memorandum publishes a letter by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, Croatia's apparent ally in the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. In a letter to his Croatian counterpart Mate Granic, Kinkel condemned the conduct of the Croatian authorities and pointed to the dangers of the destruction of 'the life base of the Krajina Serbs' which 'ultimately result in their ethnic cleansing.'

German Envoy, Serb Representatives Meet

LD0211151595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1427 GMT 2 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 2 (TANJUG)—The charge d'affaires of the German Embassy in Belgrade, Gerhard Enver Schrembgens, said Thursday that Bonn urges a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and opposes any military actions in the area.

In a talk with representatives of the Belgrade-based association of Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and Croatia, Schrembgens expressed full understanding for the position of refugees and displaced persons from Croatia and highly assessed Serbia's and Yugoslavia's efforts for their assistance.

The representatives of this association acquainted Schrembgens with the difficult position of Serbs who remain in Croatia and asked him that Germany supports the respect of their human rights.

According to a mememorandum of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry sent to the United Nations last week, a total of 550,000 Serbs have been expelled from Krajina and Croatia. Before Zagreb's secession from the former Yugoslav Federation, Serbs made up 12.5 percent of Croatia's overall population, but now this figure has been reduced to 2-3 percent.

The representatives of the association of Serbs from RSK and Croatia expressed gratitude to the German humanitarian organizations for their aid to refugees and displaced persons from the RSK and Croatia.

Czechs Reassured on National Minority Rights

LD0611161795 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1605 GMT 6 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 6 (TANJUG)—Federal Minister Margit Savovic conferred here on Monday with charge d'affaires of the Czech Republic Embassy Ivan Bosniak about the rights of national minorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.)

The Federal Information Secretariat said in an announcement that also discussed were Yugoslav Government measures for the care and accommodation of more than 700,000 refugees sheltered in the F.R.Y.

Minister Savovic told Bosniak that national minority members in the F.R.Y., unlike other countries, enjoyed all civil and minority rights, but the size of a national minority could not be an argument for any benefits.

The F.R.Y. receives no more than 15 per cent of the total international humanitarian aid which reaches the areas of former Yugoslavia, said Savovic and added that nine out of every ten refugees are hosted by families themselves in a difficult economic position due to the effects of the sanctions.

In voicing readiness of the Czech Republic to help the refugees in the F.R.Y., Mr Bosniak told the federal minister that he intends to call at a collective refugee reception centre, said the announcement by the Federal Information Secretariat.

'Sources' Predict Early Dinar Devaluation

AU0311161495 Belgrade NASA BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 95 p 8

[Article by E.N.B.: "Three Dinars for One Mark?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Devaluation is in the air. After the "slight nervousness" concerning the three times announced correction of the dinar rate, Prime Minister [of Serbia] Mirko Marjanovic, until recently a fierce opponent of devaluation "in this moment," said the day before yesterday that a unique rate must be established, and that the bank governor and the Federal Government must decide on that. True, in his statement given to PRIVREDNI PREGLED [Novi Sad-based economic newspaper], the Serbian prime minister said that that rate would have to be established particularly once the sanctions were lifted (and that is increasingly certain), but at the same time he warmed up the rumors that this might happen earlier. "Until then (the lifting of the sanctions—author's note) we should perhaps check once more how much and how much harm a possible correction of the rate would bring us."

NASA BORBA's sources claim that the prime minister's assistants were more than surprised by this statement and in the economic public Marjanovic's words were experienced as the "triumph of the governor's course," who has been urging the introduction of the convertibility of dinar since this summer. Such a conclusion could be made after the governor's very self-assured presentation at the formal meeting of Jugobanka, where he announced a "drastic liberalization of the economy," regardless of whether or not the international sanctions were lifted (which was stressed in the media close to the state). "Drastic changes in the monetary (!) and trade system and in the pricing policy are before us," the governor said, thus anticipating the abandoning of the policy which the republic government has conducted up to now.

If it this turnabout is real, it would be truly radical, because the governor has been pushed aside for a long time now, both in the public and in decisionmaking on economic policy. Not so very long ago, in an informal talk, Avramovic was rather pessimistic and complained that he had hardly any contacts with the Serbian president. Reportedly, everything boiled down to the governor's occasional offers to resign and the brief answer that "it is still not the right moment" for that.

In that context, it is interesting that NASA BORBA's sources claim that the main meeting with the Serbian president has still not taken place and that the devaluation, if it comes to that, is still not hot news.

On the other hand, according to some sources, yesterday it was unusually busy at the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ], because monetary and foreign currencies balances were being calculated, which are to precede devaluation, which, allegedly, should already be in force when this article reaches the newspaper kiosks. The new rate, it is estimated, should be three dinars for one German mark.

In any case, at this meeting of Jugobanka, at which Avramovic gave the quoted, intriguing statement, Prime Minister [of Yugoslavia] Kontic told one of the bankers that the devaluation was to follow in a very short time. On the streets yesterday the dinar value in transactions was clearly lower, which also speaks in favor of the assumptions that the economy, the bankers, even the citizens are preparing themselves for this measure.

If devaluation is really carried out in a hurry (until now such changes usually happened between Saturday and Sunday and the bankers were expecting this one to happen in the night between 31 October and 1 November), the question is whether this measure is accompanied by other measures aimed at strengthening the convertibility of dinar. True, a month ago, in the Serbian Chamber of Commerce, Minister Without Portfolio Tomica Raicevic listed all the accompanying measures (including the unification of the foreign currency reserves of Serbia and of Montenegro); the governor himself said in IZIT that he "will not agree to partial measures, without a full economic package." However, NASA BORBA's sources claim that, concerning the announced liberalization of the foreign trade regime, for example, no spectacular measures have been prepared and our interlocutors from the NBJ say that work is proceeding without increased foreign currency reserves.

In that case, it is reasonable to think that the scenario from January 1994—when the foreign currency reserves were mostly filled from the reserves of the citizens—could be repeated this time. (The biggest enigma for the NBJ analysts is the quantity of money kept under people's mattresses). It could be expected that the devaluation is accompanied by a temporary lack of dinars, designed to make exporters (inspired by the realistic dinar rate) sell their foreign currency to the central bank. After that, there would follow an issue of dinars and the revival of the credit activity of banks in order to stimulate production.

Those who favor devaluation see a positive effect in that, whereas its opponents only see the possibilities for a new remonetization, i.e. the "production" of dinars. According to the latter, this scenario will not result in the filling of foreign currency reserves; instead, the black market rate will exceed the rate of five dinars to one mark by New Year. Some say even more.

Avramovic on New Monetary Package

AU0411143195 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 95 p 1

[Report on news conference by NBJ Governor Dragoslav Avramovic in Belgrade on 27 October: "Convertibility After Devaluation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 27 October—Talking with journalists today, Dragoslav Avramovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ], announced the central bank's proposal of new measures. In the new package, which consists of 15 measures and is still waiting for the "green light" of the three governments [Serbia, Montenegro, and Yugoslavia], priority is given to the annulment of banking debts. This implies the obstruction of gray currency issue and turning current debts into long-term and midterm credits, Avramovic explained.

No Additional Currency Issue

The NBJ Council insists on a balanced exchange rate, which implies correcting the current official rate—in other words, devaluation. After that, as Avramovic pointed out, the convertibility of the dinar would be established, as was the case in the first months of last year—for example, at the beginning of the stabilization program. Also, there would be no additional issue of dinars in the first few months. According to Avramovic, dinars would be printed only if they could be covered by foreign currencies.

The new package also implies the removal of numerous foreign trade barriers and contingents, as well as the reduction of customs and other duties to a much lower level. There will be a struggle over the acceptance and implementation of the new program, but it is necessary if the goal is to establish a stable market, the leading man of the central bank assessed.

Listing the new measures, Avramovic stresses the necessity of a clear-cut and real fiscal policy and the importance of being able to control public service prices, as well as abolish state control over many prices. He also said that the Agency for Payment Transactions [sluzba platnog prometa] should be placed under the NBJ's authority. He stressed the necessity of quick privatization, remarking that the model of "democratization of property relations" could materialize within two months. "If this program is adopted, we can hope for prosperity," Avramovic said, and pointed out in his recognizable style: "Nothing will come of this because it demands huge changes in attitudes and of cadre."

Fear of Inflation

To the question whether he had the impression that his concept was winning, Avramovic answered no, "but it has to be that way, because without it, we are threatened by huge dangers." It is enough if on the black market the [German] mark rose from 2.8 to 4 or 5 dinars, but new big problems will instantly appear, the NBJ governor warned. He categorically stressed that all measures have to be applied together, but that privatization should not be waited for; instead, we should make the decision to start the process immediately. He said that the negotiations on the new economic measures will resemble those of the solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The atmosphere that someone has to take those measures will "be created," and then they will start talking about who has to do it, who should make the first move, who was late, Avramovic said, half-joking, remarking that in all governments, there are different views on the new package. The governor pointed out that changes in the NBJ Council were also inevitable.

Asked whether devaluation can come about without other measures, Avramovic answered that "everything is possible in this state, but the NBJ Council decided on 28 August that devaluation could be included in an entire package of measures." At the end, he remarked that in case nothing was done, inflation in 18 months could reach disastrous proportions, just as in 1993. "But the fear of inflation is enormous, so I do not believe in that scenario," Dragoslav Avramovic concluded.

Serbia

French Pilots Said Not To Be in Belgrade

AU0411160795 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 4 (AFP)—Two French pilots missing in Bosnia since August "are not in Belgrade", according to an interview with a Bosnian Serb leader in a Yugoslav magazine published Saturday.

Miroslav Toholj, the Bosnian Serb 'information minister', told Argument magazine: "I don't know where they are, but they are certainly not in Belgrade".

The pilots were shot down on August 30 while their Mirage 2000 jet carried out NATO-ordered airstrikes on targets near the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale.

Since then the fate of Captain Frederic Chiffot and Lieutenant Jose Sauvignet has been the subject of many conflicting accounts.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on October 18 that the two pilots were kidnapped from a hospital "by extortionists or Bosnian Moslems," a claim which French authorities have dismissed.

In Belgrade, authorities have denied all knowledge of their whereabouts.

Milosevic Seen To 'Marginalize' Karadzic, Mladic

AU0311145695 Paris AFP in English 1314 GMT 3 Nov 95

[by Milan Dragovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic appears bound to act on U.S. urgings to marginalise Bosnian Serb military and civilian leaders Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, informed sources in Belgrade said Friday.

The sources emphasised that Milosevic was anxious to achieve a peace agreement as quickly as possible.

Pressure mounted for him to sever links with the Serbs following U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's statement that NATO would not implement a peace settlement that left Karazdic and Mladic in place.

In Brussels, the European Union said it would back U.S. demands that the Bosnian Serb leaders step down as a condition of implementing a peace deal in Bosnia, commission officials indicated on Friday.

"It is difficult to conceive of aid programmes being implemented in Serb territories if these are still being governed by people identified as war criminals," said a spokesman for Foreign Affairs Commissioner Hans Van den Broek.

The two men have been charged with crimes against humanity by an international tribunal in The Hague. The tribunal has urged the U.S. to make the surrender of suspected criminals a condition for any accord that emerges from talks in Dayton, Ohio.

The Belgrade sources said Friday the process of ousting the two leaders could be accelerated if there were a major conflict between Milosevic and Bosnian Serb members of the delegation he is leading.

According to sources close to the Bosnian Serb leadership, quoted Thursday by the independent agency BETA, "preparations to replace" the principal leader of the self-declared Republika Srpska (RS) [Serb Republic] could begin at the end of October in the Bosnian Serb "capital" of Pale, outside Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serbs would reach agreement with Milsovic according to the sources, so Karadzic, Mladic and the speaker of the self-declared parliament Momcilo Krajisnik are not candidates to any of the posts in the future state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Thus the president was preparing the way to put forward a candidate at the head of the Serb entity in Bosnia, but it was not known who that candidate could be, BETA said.

According to a report carried by the independent Yugoslavian agency BETA, the Bosnian Serb leadership could, during meetings in the next days, decide in principle that the two men could step down from their posts.

Miroslav Toholj, RS "information minister" reacted Thursday by saying the Bosnian Serbs "would never accept that anyone should impose a puppet regime" and that they "would very probably refuse hospitality" to U.S. soldiers.

Relations between Milosevic and Karadzic have continued to deteriorate for some two years.

Informed sources in Belgrade have not flinched from speaking of "hostility" between the two men.

Karadzic has accused Milosevic of doing everything to weaken him, and has attacked the extremism of the Pale leadership and the "ethnic cleansing" carried out by Serb forces on Moslem and Croat populations.

The case of Mladic, in open conflict with Karadzic since last spring, seems to be more delicate.

The Bosnian Serb commander is benefitting from the support of his chief of staff, which until now has been unconditional,

Although he has repeatedly said he had no political ambitions, he has remained very close to the Yugoslav military hierarchy.

Generals faithful to Mladic have weakened Karadzic's position, and, in addition, he faces growing opposition within the RS "parliament."

Karadzic's Democratic Serb Party "is rapidly losing ground," one of his opponents independent deputy Milorad Dodik said.

The inquiry ordered by the UN Security Council into Serb crimes during the capture in July of the Moslem enclave of east Srebrenica is being interpreted in Belgrade political circles as a new signal to Milosevic that he must break off relations with Karadzic and Mladic once and for all.

Charges Called 'Unjust'

LD0411190595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 4 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (SRNA)—Academician Mihajlo Markovic, member of the main committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], describes as "illegitimate" the American initiative to replace [Bosnian] Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic, and General Ratko Mladic, commander of the main headquarters of the [Bosnian] Serb army.

"Dr. Karadzic was elected president legitimately, and was voted for by parliamentary deputies. Gen. Mladic was also appointed legitimately. Therefore, no one has the right to meddle when Serbs choose their president and the commander of their army," Markovic told SRNA.

He said that the Belgrade authorities also could not make changes in the leadership of the Serb Republic, even if they wanted to do so.

Commenting on efforts to make the replacement of Karadzic and Mladic a condition for the arrival of NATO soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Markovic said:

"The arrival of NATO troops is not our idea, nor have we invited them. It is their idea, and they cannot blackmail us with it. Therefore, they do not have to come, and we will have nothing against that."

Markovic said that the charges brought against Karadzic and Mladic in The Hague "are not based on moral or legal grounds."

"If someone wants to bring charges of war crimes, then the same must be done in all such cases since World War II. No one was indicted for crimes committed in Korea, and as far as American crimes in Vietnam are concerned, charges were brought only against an American sergeant, and not against his superiors," Markovic noted.

Even if the war in former Yugoslavia is singled out, who will bring charges against Alija Izetbegovic, Franjo Tudjman, and their commanders? Markovic asked.

"Consequently, charges brought against Dr. Karadzic and Gen. Mladic are biased and unjust, and the Serb people should not accept this," academician Markovic said in conclusion.

'Illegitimate' Sandzak Party Group Assailed

LD0511180695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov (SRNA)—The main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] for Sandzak has responded to an increasing number of unauthorized statements issued on behalf of the party and said that Rasim Ljajic is the legitimate SDA chairman for Sandzak.

According to the statement, a group of former SDA members and leaders "is representing the SDA without authorization," thus causing "chaos among less informed people and inflicting considerable moral and material losses on the party and the Bosniak-Muslim people."

That is why the SDA main committee for Sandzak elected Rasim Ljajic chairman at the party conference held on 8 July 1995, the statement says, adding that the change was recorded in the register of political organizations at the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Serbia.

The main committee informs all the media in the state not to accept statements signed by the following members of the illegitimate group: Dzemail Suljevic, Esad Dzudzevic, Mesudin Kucevic, Azem Hajdarevic, Fevzija Muric, Kasim Zoranic, Cazim Lukac, Fahrudin Kugic, and Bajram Hamzic.

According to the statement signed by Rizah Gruda, deputy chairman of the SDA for Sandzak, the group is using "forged SDA seals in Novi Pazar, Prijepolje and Priboj."

Police Detain POLITIKA Board Chairman

LD0511193795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov (SRNA)—Zivorad Minovic, chairman of the board of managers of the POLITIKA Corporation, was taken to a police station for an informative chat at 0500 this morning, BETA news agency was told by the corporation's lawyer Sava Andjelkovic.

According to the same source, several inspectors from the economic crime department of the city secretariat for internal affairs came to the POLITIKA premises this morning with an explanation that it was an inquorate session of the board of managers which suspended Hadzi Dragan Antic, the director of the POLITIKA newspaper company; they took Minovic for an infomative chat which is still under way.

Andjelkovic said that Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic and Serbian Information Minister Ratomir Vico have been informed about Minovic's detention.

Corporation President Ousted

LD0511205895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—The board of managers of the POLITIKA Corporation made a decision today to relieve Minovic of the duty of corporation president.

Federal Minister Without Portfolio Tomica Raicevic has been appointed acting chairman of the corporation.

A statement from a session of the POLITIKA Corporation board of managers says:

"A session of the board of managers of the POLITIKA Corporation was held today under the chairmanship of Ljubisa Igic, chairman of the board of managers.

"The board of managers has assessed that previous decisions of some members of the board of managers were adopted in an illegal way and without a quorum.

"The board of managers has adopted the decision to relieve the corporation's former president, Zivorad Minovic, of his duties, and to appoint federal minister Tomica Raicevic as acting president of the corporation." [passage omitted]

Opposition on POLITIKA Collapse

LD0611155495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 6 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (SRNA)—The Serbian Radical Party, the Democratic Party and, the Democratic Party of Serbia have accused the Socialist Party and the Yugoslav United Left "of having destroyed POLITIKA through their conflict caused by personal interests."

The three opposition parties have issued a joint statement saying that the conflict in POLITIKA is a resumption of a merciless struggle for political power and privileges between two fractions belonging to "the ruling coalition" in which two parties "destroyed yet another institution of the Serb tradition and culture."

According to the same statement, "the latest events in the POLITIKA Company illustrate the real situation in the Serbian media" and only the departure from power of "Milosevic's communists can bring more freedom and democratic relations in all areas, including the media."

Chemical Plant Dismisses Pollution Charges

AU0611121995 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by M. Popadic: "They Were Suffocating People All Night"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Subotica—Following the one-year suspension in production and the several weeks long overhaul, two days ago the Zorka Holding Chemical Industry, in accordance with the so-called accelerated process, opened a new plant for the production of sulfuric acid. The plant was operational for only a few hours during which it severely threatened the health of Subotica citizens.

In the course of the afternoon, the plant released a large amount of sulfur dioxide into the air. Since weather conditions were unfavorable for Zorka, the poisonous cloud descended on the city and people started fleeing into their houses and apartments. Following numerous phone calls, the municipal alert center alerted the republican sanitary inspector Milan Mileusnic and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Subotica. When inspector Mileusnic arrived in Zorka, he ordered the shut down of the plant because of the immense quantities of sulfur dioxide that were being released into the atmosphere. The plant's relevant authorities laconically answered the inspector and the alert center saying that "everything was within normal limits" and that people were panicking needlessly. [passage omitted].

Montenegro

Bulatovic Views Prospects for Ohio Conference

AU0511171395 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 95 p 5

[Report on statement by Montenegro President Momir Bulatovic by D. Jolic; place and date not given: "To Reach Peace Without Ultimatums"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "The conference that will soon begin in Ohio is different from any other so far. It has the best chances for success, which is evidenced by serious preparations, as well as the attitude on the part of the entire international community. Besides, the fatigue of the supporters and protagonists of war options is quite apparent, as well as the resolve of the most powerful countries in the world to construct a unanimous approach toward the warring factions.

"Unfortunately, all this has happened after too many mistakes and unsuccessful moves, but better now than never," Momir Bulatovic, president of Montenegro, said at yesterday's news conference before his departure to the United States, to take part in the peace conference in Ohio.

At the U.S. Army base in Dayton, Ohio, where the meeting will be held closed from the public, without time limits or the possibility of setting ultimatums or threatening to abandon the negotiations, a series of issues is expected to be resolved and essential agreements to be achieved. The Montenegrin president says, however, that the conclusion of a peace agreement on the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is an important, but not the only goal. The peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina is a precondition of resolving all other remaining issues that are essential for stabilization and normalization of circumstances in the Balkans. [passage omitted]

"Open questions with our neighboring countries," Bulatovic said, "as well as essential conditions for mutual recognition, which is one of the goals of the conference, will not be decided upon by the joint delegation with the representatives of the Serbian republic, but solely by the FRY delegation, and according to our constitutional principles that guarantee equality and legal parity of the republics."

Restoration of Rights

"As part of the preparations for the peace conference we have performed a series of comprehensive and exhaustive consultations. We have established mutual attitudes regarding all the open questions, and I, personally, do not expect any problems within the joint delegation to arise, and particularly not within the FRY delegation. Extremely difficult negotiations are awaiting us. The opposed political options, which have caused the civil war, will not be easy to resolve. Therefore, despite the optimism expressed, there is still a reserve with regard to the sincerity of promises offered to us by peace mediators, and the determination of all sides," Bulatovic said.

"The joint delegation of the FRY and the Serbian republic," Bulatovic said, "is setting out on a journey with a resolute intention to contribute to the conference's success. We are aware of the weight of the decision that we shall have to make, and the seriousness of the moment that demands it. We are ready to accept a compromise to find principled, long-term, and just solutions. We expect the other two sides to sit around a negotiating table with the same intentions, that is, that the international mediators, or the host of the conference, the United States, will secure such an approach." [passage omitted]

He invited all the political forces in Montenegro, particularly citizens, to support peacemaking efforts and to contribute, as much as they can, to the acceptance and implementation of the peace agreement on former Yugoslavia.

Kosovo

Rugova: Dayton Talks 'Positive' Step

AU0311204095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 3 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Speaking to reporters today (Friday) in Prishtina, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova hailed the efforts and the concrete initiative of U.S. President Clinton for the establishment of peace in the southeast Europe. He expressed his hope that the meeting in Dayton, Ohio, was the first step towards the cessation of war and towards the solution of all the problems in former Yugoslavia.

President Rugova assessed the singling out of the question of Kosova in the EU policy paper on the former Yugoslavia as very important, and hailed the request of the representative of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Zef Mazi, that the people of Kosova be recognized the right to self-determination and independence. Dr. Rugova also hailed an appeal of the intellectuals of Albania and an aide-memoire of the Kosova Writers Association and the Albanian P.E.N. sent to the international forums and institutions, in which they press for the recognition of the independence of Kosova and the right to self-determination for its people.

Touching on the current state of affairs in Kosova, President Rugova said that the situation continued to be very grave and tense, due to the unabated repression of the Serbian regime. He demanded an immediate halt of settlement of Serb refugees in Kosova, and denounced provocations on the part of local Serb citizens against Albanians. He referred to numerous specific cases of intimidation and harassment, and repeated his call for the release of all Albanian political prisoners.

Given the very repressive situation in Kosova, President Rugova said: "We demand an international protection in Kosova, and we reassert the expressed political will of the people that the best solution for the Kosova issue is an independent and neutral state, open to Albania and Serbia." An interim international civil protectorate would facilitate a solution and avoid an open conflict, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova underscored.

Asked by the Serbian TANJUG news agency correspondent to comment on the Dayton meeting, and the Serbian regimes rejection of, as he said, secessionist claims for the independence of Kosova, President Rugova of Kosova said that the meeting in Ohio was a positive step towards the overall solution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, including the Kosova issue. The case of an independent and neutral Kosova, open to Albania and Serbia, has been gaining an increasing profile and affirmation in the world, Dr. Rugova said.

Asked to comment a meeting he recently had with the Belgrade-based Russian Embassy officials, President Rugova said that the Russian diplomats had a good understanding of the situation in Kosova and the legitimate political demands of the people.

A reporter asked President Rugova's opinion about a statement regarding the sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, of the U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher. Dr. Rugova said he agreed with Mr. Christopher that the lifting of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro is a complex issue.

Voices Appreciation for Talks

AU0511174195 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 4 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Report on news conference by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, in Prishtina on 3 November, by B. Haliti: "Our People's Endurance Will Meet Not With Harsh Impositions But With Appreciation and a Reward"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Most of the questions at yesterday's news conference concerned the start of negotiations in Ohio to solve the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans

ATA's correspondent asked what President Rugova expected from this serious start to unraveling the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. President Rugova replied in short that he expected positive steps.

The correspondent of the Serbian news agency TANJUG asked President Rugova, "What do you predict the outcome of Ohio will be? Do you think that the international community will accept your demands for the independence of Kosova, or will you content yourself with autonomy?"

"I said that I appreciate the Ohio meeting as a first step toward solving the crisis and the overall problems in the former Yugoslavia, including Kosova. After the Ohio meeting, there will be the conference in Paris to solve the overall problems of Yugoslavia. As far as Kosova is concerned, not only the idea but the reality of everything that we are building in Kosova is increasingly appreciated. This is the reality of an independent and neutral Kosova open to both Albania and Serbia with all rights and guarantees for the Serbs here. The question of an international civilian protectorate over Kosova is also being increasingly supported as a transitional solution that will help to achieve an ultimate solution without conflict. Only this will respond to the political will of the people of Kosova."

When this journalist insisted on asking whether he would content himself with autonomy for Kosova, President Rugova said that he had answered this question.

The correspondent of Albanian Radio-Television took the recent visit of a Russian delegation to Prishtina and its meeting with President Rugova as an occasion to ask what the Russian view is of solving the Kosova question and whether it differs from the stand of the West.

President Rugova said that representatives of the Russian Embassy in Belgrade had been for a visit to Kosova and that we are making efforts to make contacts with Russia, too. Besides the statement we issued, we can also say that this delegation had much greater understanding for the situation in Kosova and the legitimate political demands of the people of Kosova. This understanding is very close to the views of the West, which recognizes the legitimate demands of the people of Kosova. We had very fruitful talks.

The correspondent of Macedonian Radio-Television asked whether Dr. Rugova is ready to go to Ohio if the question of Kosova is tackled there.

President Rugova said that we are ready for all possible talks both here and there. I am expecting to pay some visits to the West in the next few days.

The correspondent of the BBC said that, according to some reports, financial aid for Serbia and its return to international institutions will be conditional on extended autonomy for Kosova. President Rugova said that he did not possess reports of this kind.. I am working to build what we have decided upon, he said, and we must not create problems out of anxiety.

The correspondent of Deutsche Welle asked whether discontent could erupt in unusual forms if the international community insisted on the proposals that have recently been heard. President Rugova replied that we must take all these issues more gently. Both the leadership and the people are working not only to express but to realize the people's legitimate demands. The different proposals, suggestions, and views that emerge should not worry us. We must accustom ourselves to this and communicate in different ways. Of course, he said, tensions are increasing and we must understand the situation in which Kosova finds itself. We have been an unprotected people for five years and have only two options, either confrontation, which involves much greater problems, or political and institutional consolidation. We must be insistent in this matter and determined to achieve our goals. This resistance of our people will not meet with harsh impositions, but appreciation and a reward, President Rugova concluded.

Rugova, Russian Envoys View Political Options

AU0411182195 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 1 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova received today in Prishtina [Pristina] Mr. Vladimir P. Oulassevitch, head of the Political Division; Mr. Sergej Cetverikov, counselor; and Mr. Anatolij Bocarov, first secretary in the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Belgrade. President Rugova briefed the Russian diplomats about the situation in Kosova, systematic repression of the Serbian regime, and the Serbian efforts to colonize Kosova through a forceful change of its ethnic distribution and by settling Serb refugees from Croatia and other parts of former Yugoslavia.

Speaking on the political aspect of the Kosova issue, President Rugova said that following the disintegration of the former Yugoslav Federation, of which Kosova was a constitutive part, the people of Kosova declared its independence in a referendum. Dr. Rugova said that an independent and neutral Kosova, opened towards Albania and Serbia, was an optimum solution to the issue. He said, however, that an international civil administration, as an interim stage, would facilitate finding of a negotiated solution. Russian Embassy officials said the situation in Kosova was not normal and emphasized a need to find an acceptable solution through dialogue.

Popular Party Head on Solution to National Issue

AU0411182095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 2 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Speaking to reporters today in Prishtina [Pristina], the chairman of the Prishtina-based Albanian Popular Party (Partia Popullore Shqiptare), Milaim Kadriu said only the "elected representatives of the people of Kosova are entitled to negotiate on the future of the country." Mr. Kadriu emphasized that "the political career of all the individuals who have once betrayed the interests of the people during the communist era is terminated."

The Albanian Popular Party (APP) called on the international community to forward invitation to President Rugova of Kosova in international conferences on former Yugoslavia, for Kosova was one of the constituent units of the former Federation. "Unless a just settlement to the Kosova issue is reached and the right of the people of Kosova to self-determination is respected, one can hardly see a lasting stability and peace in the Balkans," Mr. Kadriu underscored.

Writers Urge 'Support' for Rugova Policies

AU0411194895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 2 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Prishtina-based Kosova Writers Association (KWA) and the Albanian PEN Center, the two associations of writers Albanian writers of Kosova, convened today [2 November] in Prishtina in a round table discussion on the current state of the Albanian culture and its institutions in Kosova amidst the fierce Serbian regime crackdown. The Albanian writers denounced the Serbian regime's drive of aculturization in Kosova, but also called on the Kosova authorities to find ways to challenge Serbian schemes by assisting in promotion of Albanian culture and arts. At the end of the round table discussion, the Kosova Writers Association and the Albanian PEN Center adopted a joint declaration on the plight of Kosova and the Albanian people. In the form of an aide-memoire, the world leaders and the leaders of the two republics, Kosova and Albania, are urged to do their utmost to see that the Kosova issue gets the due attention and a just solution based on the right of the people to self-determination.

Following is the unabridged text of the aide-memoire sent, amongst others, to the United Nations, the European Union, the five-nation Contact Group on former Yugoslavia's countries, the International PEN, etc.: "Kosova is a country whose two million autochthonous Albanians make up 90 percent of the population. Albanian resistance fighters liberated Kosova from Ottoman rule in 1912, the year which saw the country reconquered, now by the Serbian military. In 1913, the Conference of Ambassadors in London ceded Kosova to Serbia unlawfully, namely over half of the Albanian territories and population, which was to be subjected to permanent suppression and genocide aimed at making Albanian flee the country or else be exposed to total extermination, while Slavicizing Kosova. During World War II, the Albanians of Kosova were engaged in a national liberation drive and opted for unification with Albania (1943), but Kosova was forcefully reannexed to Serbia (1945). The ethnic Albanian Kosova has lived the 45 years of Yugoslav communism under suppression, yet firmly resolved to see realization of its national rights, including the right to self-determination. In 1989, Kosova was forcefully stripped off its status as a constituent unit of the Yugoslav Federation. In the wake of disintegration of Yugoslavia, being one of its constitutive entities, Kosova exercised its right to self-determination, declaring its independence in 1990. This move was verified by the will of the people in the 1991 referendum on independence, with a 99 percent yes vote of the 87 percent of the electoral body. In the 1992 elections, Kosova elected its president and members of the country's parliament. Led by Ibrahim Rugova, the Kosova leadership has in the past five years been pursuing nonviolent policies in search of a democratic way for the realization of the political will of the people, which was expressed in the referendum. Serbia responded by putting in place a military and police occupation, state terror, killings and persecution of Albanians, bringing in Serb settlers from Bosnia and Croatia as part of the scheme of Serbianization of Kosova. Historically and actually, Kosova is the country of autochthonous Albanians, who make up 90 percent of the population, and want to realize the right to self-determination, the right to a free and autonomous life. The Kosova issue necessitates a speedy and just settlement in a bid to avert an outbreak of conflict which would engulf the whole region. Forcing a people to slavery means prompting it to war. In pursuit of a just solution to the Kosova issue without an open conflict, we urge the United Nations, the United States of America, and the European Union to support the nonviolent policies of the Albanians in Kosova and denounce Serbian aggression by: —Ensuring a full demilitarization of Kosova; —Recognizing the right of Albanians to self-determination; —Supporting the political will expressed in the referendum; —Convening dialogue and talks between Serbia and the elected representatives of the Kosova Albanians headed by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, in the presence of a third party, which is to serve as a guarantor of equitable dialogue, the outcome of talks and implementation (the U.S.A. has been demanded as such a guarantor).

We herewith urge that official Albania and the Albanian people fully abide to the resolution of the Albanian Parliament on recognition of the Republic of Kosova as an independent state. Kosova as an independent and democratic state, which safeguards the rights of its citizens, is the only solution that can ensure peace in the region."

University Rector Talks With Foreign Diplomats

LD0511175895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 5 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 5th November (SRNA)—Ajup Statovci, Rector of the Albanian University in Pristina, has had talks with diplomatic representatives of some 10 countries in Belgrade during the past three days, the rector's office of this extrainstitutional university stated today.

Its statement says that Statovci has informed the foreign diplomats about the situation at the Albanian University and asked them to ask their governments, universities, and foundations to consider possibilities of providing aid for this institution.

The specific demands raised by Statovci refer to establishing cooperation with universities in the world, exchanging lecturers and students, awarding scholarships for lecturers, participating in study in international scientific projects, and enabling Albanian professors to attend international scientific symposia.

Statovci has talked with diplomatic representatives of the United States, Germany, Italy, Albania, Switzerland, France, Spain, and other countries.

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